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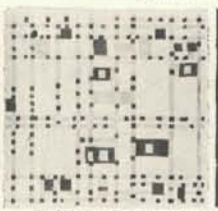

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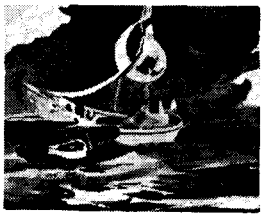

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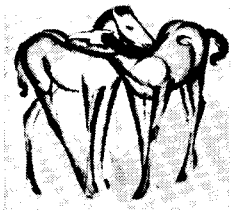

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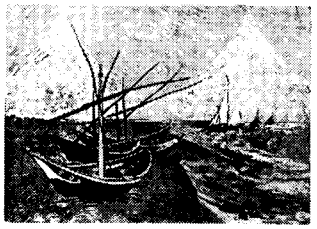

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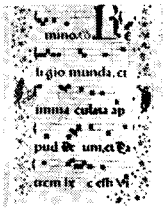

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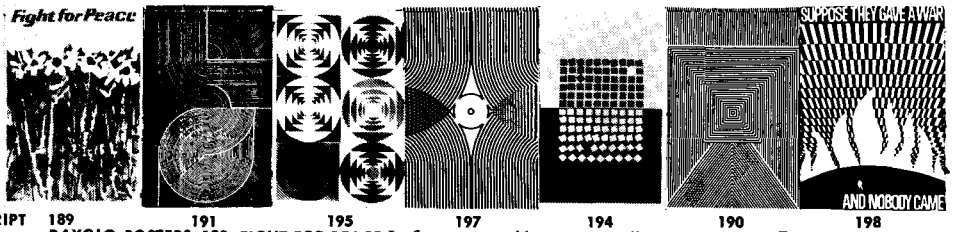

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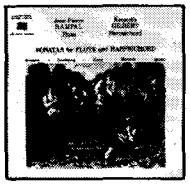

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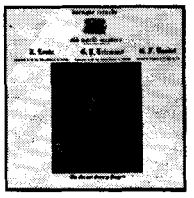

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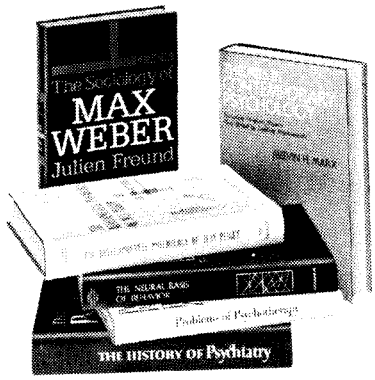

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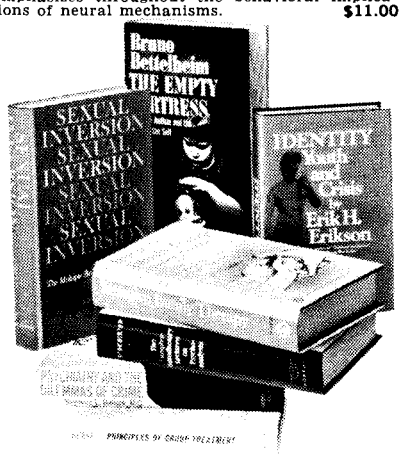

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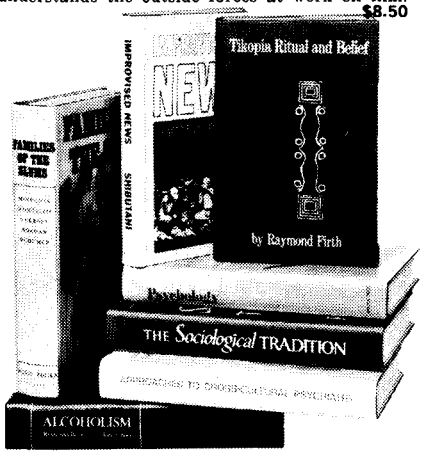

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T.R.B. from Washington

Take a Deep Breath

★ You would have been interested last week to see a group of top Washington political writers, looking slightly stunned, composing notes over a messy breakfast tablecloth from which Spiro Agnew had just risen to make sure that they were giving exact (and fair) quotes on what he had just said. An hour before, in the same room, Herb Klein, Nixon's press man, had quietly made the startling announcement that Agnew's role in the campaign was "to take the hard line." It was a formal decision; the traditional role for the man in second place, Herb said smoothly, is "to do the attacking."

So here now was Agnew, and this is what he had said. Had he blundered? Was this a considered statement? Was he speaking out of turn? His charge was, as somebody read it aloud for checking, and as the *NY Times* and other papers front-paged it next morning, that Humphrey was "soft on inflation, soft on communism, and soft on law and order over the years."

This reporter took a deep breath. Shades of Richard Nixon. So it was going to be that sort of a campaign.

"Did you get that other quote about 'McCarthyism'?" somebody asked. Notes were flipped back. A questioner had asked if Agnew wasn't talking a bit like Joe McCarthy. Yes, here his reply was. "He said that there had been, quote, overreaction unquote, to Joe McCarthy."

In a matter of hours it became evident that this was no slip of the tongue. Agnew repeated the phrase at a press conference a few hours later, complete with the reference to Humphrey as a Neville Chamberlain and Nixon as a Winston Churchill. Only his tongue slipped and he called Nixon "Chamberlain" until corrected. Yes, the governor agreed, he would take the hard line. He explained elegantly, "You can't hit my team in the groin and expect me to stand here and smile about it."

Well, one thing is likely, compared to his opposite number – this campaign is going to make Senator Muskie look good. He is growing on a lot of people.

In what *Time* (September 13) called "an intemperate off-the-cuff tirade" Governor Agnew told Young Republicans at York, Penn., that the Chicago fracas, campus revolts and city disturbances were all largely inspired by communists and "fellow travelers." The outburst, *Time* noted, "made even the 'old Nixon' sound moderate." The governor argued against "appeasement of militant minorities in the ghettos." He blamed the Fortas controversy on, of all people, Earl Warren for retiring "precipitately." Warren had inconsiderately put the GOP on the spot.

Spiro Agnew was an inconspicuous county commissioner until elected governor, by a fluke, against a blatherskite whom even fellow-Democrats couldn't take. He is now way out of his depth. He is clumsily trying to repeat Nixon's svelte lifetime performance against radicalism. What a dialogue it would make – the instructions Nixon must have given to Agnew in their preliminary strategy conferences! Mr. Nixon, as school teacher, must have gone over how he defeated Jerry Voorhis, Helen Gahagan Douglas on the soft-on-communism line. Then he emerged in his full flower in 1952. The new generation, I guess, has forgotten.

It was Nixon who charged that Adlai Stevenson "got a Ph.D. from Dean Acheson's College of Cowardly Communist Containment."

We imagine the governor listening with awe as his mentor continues.

"You have to have flair, Spiro. You need deftness. But you have to have flair. For example, I didn't actually call Truman, Acheson and Stevenson 'traitors'. What I said was that they were 'traitors to the high principles in which many of the nation's Democrats believe'. Get the difference? That's where the art is."

"Wonderful, boss!" says the governor. "But remember – don't expect too much of me, please; I've only been in the big time a couple of years. We didn't think of those things so much in Baltimore County. Did you ever rise to that 'traitor' height again?"

A dreamy look comes into the candidate's eyes. He is thinking over past times. He is saddened because now he is top man, like Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956 and is taking the high road. He has to delegate the hatchet job.

"You're going to love it, Spiro," he says encouragingly. "Go for the jugular, that's the trick! We worked it a bit against Jack Kennedy, but it was hard to pin it on him with that war record."

He pauses, notes the gleam in his pupil's eye. "Well, if you want to know, there was one phrase I was really – I just tossed it off. I don't believe Ike ever heard about it; he didn't know much what was going on. It was in 1954 when I was helping the boys at midterm. I got it all in a nutshell: the issues were 'K-1; C-3, Korea, communism, corruption and controls'. They loved it. I remember telling them at Huron, S.D., 'We're kicking the communists and fellow travelers and security risks out of government by the thousands? Do you think you can rise to that, Spiro?"

"I'll try, boss, I'll certainly try. . . . Soft on communism . . . Neville Chamberlain . . . I'll try."

Hubert Humphrey, as we see it, is currently running hard against five men – Nixon, Agnew, Wallace, Lyndon Johnson, and himself.

The Nixon-Agnew team is ahead and will presumably win. Its big capital asset is law 'n' order. Perhaps we should capitalize that, Law 'n' Order.

George Wallace you know about. The polls show him getting an astonishing 15 to 20 percent. Personally, we doubt it. A lot of waverers when they enter the polling booths are going to say, "Shall I waste my vote?" We give Wallace maybe four or five percent.

Lyndon Johnson won't let go. He seems more interested in vindicating himself than electing a Democrat. . . . And finally, there's Hubert. They hung the Chicago convention on him; crowds stay away; left-wingers heckle him (they don't bother Nixon much, of course, what's the use?) and often he leaves confusion behind. But anybody who let Harry Truman fool him in 1948 isn't going to make rash predictions.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 159 Number 12 Issue 2807 September 21, 1968*
Published weekly (except the last week in December) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 40c. Yearly subscription $10; Foreign $11; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of addresses to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright© 1968 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide.

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The Pseudo-Campaign

The once-in-four-years jawing match is on, and if you aren't listening attentively you might think something significant is being said – on law and order, for example, which each candidate favors. But no candidate is disposed to say frankly why the country is so disorderly and how the blacks or the disaffected young can be pacified. Mr. Humphrey, Mr. Nixon and Mr. Wallace are likewise in accord that we must seek an "honorable" peace, details supplied later. When men run for the Presidency by running for cover, what they say can only be read as advertising. And so is it read by many. A sizable part of the electorate is not being spoken for; it is indifferent to the fates of the candidates. Certainly in any gathering of enlightened Democrats, more than a few are indifferent to the Vice President. Indeed, some of them are persuaded their party deserves to lose the White House, that the old must be swept away before new growth can take root.

Considering who the major party candidates are, this attitude seems on the surface remarkable. Despite present vacillations and past performance in the discredited Johnson Administration, Hubert Humphrey has populist credentials as authentic as any Democrat in recent years, better certainly than Johnson's or John F. Kennedy's, neither of whom had trouble capturing the liberal vote. And Richard Nixon, even if he no longer is quite the Herblocian devil of old, has enough of the cut-the-budget and crack-down-on-communists in him today to worry the liberals. Why then this feeling prevalent among them that Humphrey isn't worth lifting a finger or raising a dollar for?

What has happened is not traceable solely to Vietnam or to neglect of the emotional and financial needs of blacks and poor whites at home, although ultimately these are responsible for much of what is troubling the liberal mind. Neither is the current mood something that has been brought about personally by Humphrey or, when it comes down to it, by Lyndon Johnson. It is not so much what the old politicians in general, and the Democrats in particular, have done, as what they have failed to do. One cannot escape the feeling that events have got beyond them, that they can no longer even identify our problems, much less solve them. Perhaps, as the most radical critics say, the nation's troubles have got to the point where they can no longer be managed within the present system. But it is obvious that they cannot be dealt with, or even discussed in terms

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that are being used in this campaign so far.

The candidates reach for the most general and reassuring "images" with which to calm the fears of the electorate. But those fears arise from real dangers, and it is to the dangers, not the fears, that would-be leaders should address themselves. How is the nation one bit better, one degree more enlightened by having Mr. Humphrey say Mr. Nixon is a "wobbler" or learning from Mr. Agnew that the Vice President is "soft" on something or other. This is a charade, not political debate. It is a pseudo-campaign when candidates compete for the honor of being the number one foe of "terrorists," who are said to infest the streets, the campuses, the rice paddies of Southeast Asia. On that basis, there is little to choose from among the contenders, unless one is willing to credit Humphrey for not including the Supreme Court on his list of subversives. Distinctions nowadays depend on such fine points.

Recently in Prague, the Russians were forced to spell out in print precisely which freedoms the Czechs were expected to forego, and the world was given a lightning-flash glimpse of the Soviet mind having to come out and state exactly what it fears the most about freedom. In this country, event after event, down to and including the recent national conventions, have given us a lurid revelation of how fearful freedom can be to our governors. Mr. Humphrey is appalled at the discourtesy of those who protest present policies; Mr. Nixon allows his vice presidential partner to wonder if the dissenters aren't communists; and Mr. Wallace says they ought to be run over by trucks. The enormity of present discontent and of our problems is jolting enough; more disturbing is the failure of presidential candidates to acknowledge the existence of those problems in any language we can understand.

"Wait – Shouldn't we vote for Nixon before we jump?"

What has gradually been taking form in our minds over the last few years is a picture of America as it might have been drawn by Hieronymous Bosch: an Air Force dropping thousands of bombs on Vietnamese peasants for no purpose that is consistent with humanity or any nation's security, of our boys burning "gooks" and "gook villages," of a national convention held in a state of siege, of black people, crazed with degradation setting fire to cities, of idealistic students persuaded that progress requires the destruction of the universities. Meanwhile, the politicians wink at each other, while they and all the rest of the swingers in the country grab pieces of the action. And in the center of this picture, where Bosch would show a man going up a ladder with an arrow in his back, we see the great mournful smile of the chief wheeler dealer as he prepares to fade away.

Fortunately for us all, there is another picture in the making. It is being made by educated, middle-class activists who have their eye on the future and who are at work in their own neighborhoods and towns. Some came to Chicago. Most stayed home. They are preparing the way. They have not given up on politics, though politics for them is a broader enterprise than mere voting. These are the younger men and women, and their teachers, who stood in Selma, sat-in at draft boards, came to Washington to protest the war, mobilized in a few months a vital movement for McCarthy and Kennedy, and went on to displace conventional politicians in precinct after precinct, in state after state. 1968 is not their presidential year. But wait.

Vietnam Planks

An analysis of votes on the two Vietnam planks offered the Democratic Convention in Chicago turns up an interesting correlation. Where Democrats were allowed to participate fully in the political process this spring and midsummer, they generally selected delegates to the convention who were opposed to the Johnson-Humphrey Southeast Asia policy. A majority of delegates from 14 states voted for the minority peace plank. Eight of these states (California,

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District of Columbia, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Oregon, South Dakota and Wisconsin) held presidential primaries during the year. Three others (Colorado, Iowa and Michigan) elected a majority of their delegates at hotly-contested precinct, district and state conventions. One (New York) elected a majority of the delegates by direct primary. In Vermont, the Humphrey and McCarthy forces agreed to divide the delegation according to the results of a presidential preference poll of state convention delegates. The Mississippi delegation, seated as the result of a successful credentials challenge, reflected the potential of the New South rather than any electoral process in the state.

No state where a presidential primary was held in 1968 cast less than 63 percent of its delegate vote for the minority plank. On the other hand, the most rigidly-controlled state delegations voted heavily against the minority plank: Texas, 104-0; Illinois, 105-13; Alabama, 30½-1½; Delaware, 21-0; Louisiana, 33½-2½; South Carolina, 27-1.

Squaring the Circle

Only the Vice President's own awareness and fear that defeat is in prospect explain his forced and downright pathetic assertions of unfounded optimism, the frantic bumbles and shilly-shallying on the Vietnam issue that marked his first week on the campaign road – the road that, he kept saying, was surely taking him to the White House. On what may be called the responsible Left, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy pronounced both Humphrey and Nixon "unacceptable." Jesse Unruh in California and President Johnson's dear friend, Governor John Connally of Texas, stayed conspicuously away from the Vice President when he appeared in their states. Max Frankel of *The New York Times* summed up the first week's tour in a dispatch from Houston: "Lackluster crowds in Philadelphia, angry hecklers shouting 'Sieg heil' in Denver, an obviously divided corps of Democratic officials in California and a serious Republican threat in Texas have forced Mr. Humphrey to thrust out his formidable chin all the farther and to keep reasserting his own optimism all the harder."

Vietnam and the Vice President's desperate need to disassociate himself in appearance, if not substance, from Lyndon Johnson's and his own Vietnam policy were at the root of his difficulties. In Philadelphia, striving to convince skeptical University of Pennsylvania students that as President he could indeed, as he had said in Chicago he could, free himself from Johnson-Humphrey policies of the past, he rashly remarked that he could "safely predict" that the removal of American forces might begin "in early 1969 or late 1968." That was only the start of a plunge into mingled absurdity and disaster. At Denver, he said that the defeated McCarthy platform plank on Vietnam – with its call for immediate and unconditional cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam – "was so mildly different from the majority report I would have no problem at all accepting it." He had said it before and it was true enough, given the right (which he later claimed) to put his own personal "interpretation and elaboration" upon the plank. But the remark raised the obvious question why he had not accepted it in Chicago and had in fact marshalled all his forces against it, and the equally obvious though unstated answer that the President would not have permitted him to accept it.

The President, it soon developed, would not permit *any* deviation from declared Johnson-Humphrey policy and was prepared to punish his Vice President for the slightest show of it. In a suddenly arranged speech to the American Legion convention in New Orleans, Mr. Johnson clearly had Mr. Humphrey and his reference to troop withdrawals in mind when he said that "No man can predict when that day will come." The Vice President, by then in Houston, capped his performance with a display of defiance that would have been impressive and admirable if it had not been so utterly inept. Challenged at a public question-and-answer forum to explain why the President had "obviously and deliberately contradicted" him, the Vice President waved a newspaper at his audience and quoted from it a dispatch reporting the partial withdrawal from Vietnam of a Marine regiment which had never been supposed to remain there. He said he didn't understand Mr. Johnson's statement; "I believe what this newspaper says is a fact." It was, but he had neither read nor quoted enough of the newspaper story to perceive that it was a meaningless fact.

COMING

Humphrey? Nixon? Nobody? What can, should, any of us do in politics through the November elections and thereafter – a series of observations by Marcus Raskin, Murray Kempton, Paul Schrade, David Hoeh, Curtis Gans, Martin Peretz, Gerry Hill and others.

Gun Control

The fight for strict gun control legislation must be taken directly to the voter, just as earlier battles for Medicare, civil rights and federal aid to education had to be fought out at the polls for 15 years. Hopes for effective controls, including registration and licensing

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of guns, rose briefly in the aftermath of the assassination of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy. His friends, including Col. John Glenn, took the lead in organizing public opinion and a colleague, Sen. Joseph Tydings (D, Md.), introduced new legislation and called on the public for a show of support. The response was dramatic. Tons of letters poured into congressional offices.

But supporters of effective gun control tend to be multi-issue people, willing to lend a hand from time to time but unwilling to fight it out day to day back home. And so, by late July, the Congress was swamped with a new wave of letters, this time from the shirt-sleeve crowd. This flood of missives completely intimidated the House. A series of damaging amendments was attached to the Administration's mild gun control measure, which had called only for a ban on the interstate sale of long guns. The Senate Judiciary Committee has agreed to the amendments, permitting any man to deal in or collect firearms by paying a $10 fee. Registration and licensing is now given little, if any, chance.

Restless Republicans

The frustration felt by hundreds of Democrats in Chicago over the Johnson regulars' stranglehold on the political process is shared by a group of 13 "middle seniority" Republicans in the House of Representatives. The 13 have launched an open attack on the Democratic House leadership in an effort to pry loose two reform bills from the House Rules Committee – one to reorganize a few functions of Congress, the other to clamp new restrictions on campaign financing. Both bills passed the Senate in 1967.

"The power structure of the House isn't about to give us these reforms," charged Rep. Tom Curtis (R, Mo.), a man unaccustomed to radical rhetoric. Rep. Curtis identifies the "power structure" as Speaker John McCormack (he held an honorary post in Chicago), Majority Leader Carl Albert (who banged away at the podium), Majority Whip Hale Boggs (he carried out White House instructions as chairman of the platform committee), the chairman of "most of the standing committees" of the House and, as a finale, what Curtis describes as the "undercover" operation of the White House on "the Hill." In brief, the Democratic leadership that prevailed in Chicago.

How does it operate? Rep. Curtis says "they stop legislation they don't want and ram through legislation they do want."

The reforms embodied in their congressional reorganization bill are pretty mild. They would take postmasters and rural mail carriers out of the patronage system, a move that would delight most Democratic House members inasmuch as post office patronage has become a major irritant; they would open committee hearings to live televising and broadcasting and open appropriations hearings to everyone; and they would require lobbyists to make a more complete disclosure of their expenditures. The last item is the one that the "power structure" dislikes most in an election year. Fund raising by the Democratic congressional leadership is closely tied to lobbying efforts on the Hill.

The election financing reform proposal is especially distasteful to the Democratic regulars. For it would repeal existing limits on contributions (they're hopelessly unrealistic) and close some loopholes. For instance, the present $5,000 limitation on individual contributions would still apply but, for the first time, in the aggregate to the candidate and supporting committees. It would no longer be legal to make $5,000 contributions to a dozen different committees for the same office-seeker. Comprehensive and detailed reports of campaign financing would be required and would have to be submitted to an independent body. Honorariums, a favorite device by which lobbyists slip favored candidates an extra thousand or two early in the campaign, would have to be disclosed.

This open attack on the House Democratic leadership, which a good many Democrats have shown an interest in, is a measure of the growing sense of futility many members on both sides of the aisle feel after a few terms. It is being led by Rep. Don Rumsfeld (R, Ill.), 36 years old and in his third term (Rumsfeld checked in at the Conrad Hilton in Chicago the week of the Democratic Convention to observe the scene for the GOP). One staffer goes so far as to predict a "mass exodus of middle seniority members from both sides of the aisle" if the system by which the Congress is run isn't reformed to allow individual members to work more effectively.

New York's New Senator

New York Congressman Charles E. Goodell, Governor Rockefeller's belated choice for the Senate seat of Robert F. Kennedy, is a conservative who is subject to infrequent and minimal deviations. On his record since he was first elected to Congress in 1959 (to a seat also vacated by death), Mr. Goodell hardly embodies "the aims and ideals" of Robert Kennedy, as Governor Rockefeller promised his appointee would. Republican Congressman Ogden R. Reid, who was considered and passed over, would have come a lot closer to meeting that standard. Rating Goodell's performance on 12 substantive issues a couple of years ago, this journal applauded only two of his votes, for Medicare and open housing. His score in the 1967-68 session of Congress may run a bit higher on our chart,

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but not by much. He was among 21 Republicans who opposed a gutted House version of the 1968 civil rights bill, and he supported a strengthened but not very strong open-housing provision in the final act. He voted, again with a minority of the Republican minority, to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission. He supported this year's meat-inspection bill, but opposed its immediate extension to intra-state processors. He voted, as quietly as possible, for broadened gun-control legislation after Robert Kennedy was killed. He has sponsored a "clean elections" bill which would require disclosure of political contributions of more than $100, tighten restrictions on corporate contributions, and prohibit the arbitrary allotment of union funds for campaign purposes without individual members' consent. He has been all for helping the poor and rebuilding the cities, but seldom for the legislation and appropriations proposed by the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations to serve these ends. When he is for federal assistance in these and other social fields, including education, it is usually on terms that grant the states maximum control and the federal government minimum control over the programs.

Senator-designate Goodell is primarily a domestic issues man, but he has made a record of sorts in foreign affairs. He has voted to cut foreign aid (Latin America usually excepted), and consistently voted for the lower appropriations. He deplores the Vietnam war, blames its agonies largely upon a failure to apply American power "quickly and decisively" in the early phases, and says now – in company with Vice President Humphrey and Richard Nixon, among others – that "above all, we must avoid making an uneasy truce in Vietnam the prelude to a more catastrophic war." He is said to have favorably impressed Governor Rockefeller with his efforts, as a member of the Republican platform committee, to shape a Vietnam plank that would be acceptable to any conceivable Republican candidate. Congressman Goodell tried to bring Governor Rockefeller into the presidential race early this year, admired his "honest, courageous and conscientious decision" to pull out in March, and supported him later as "the surest winner" and "the only candidate" who could help Republican candidates for Congress win this November. But Goodell has nurtured his reputation as a "leadership man" since he came to Congress and appears happier with Nixon than is his sometime candidate and present benefactor.

The new senator is 42, capable, intelligent, a serious student of governmental processes and ways to improve them according to his lights. "His direction is forward, not backward," one of his genuinely liberal House colleagues said last week. "I think Charlie is broadening, I think he will develop."

Don't Get Sick

Many state and local governments, finding that Medicare payments far exceed what anyone had anticipated and that hospital costs are rising twice as fast as the cost of living, plan to cut drastically their health care budgets. New York State recently tightened its Medicaid requirements and eliminated medical coverage for a million people just under the poverty level. The distasteful squabbling which characterized the original Medicare controversy is cropping up again. The State Health Board ordered New York City's hospitals last week to start paying the minimum Medicaid fee of $5.50 to supervising doctors for each patient visit. The city says it doesn't have the money to cover its share of the projected $25 million cost and will pay none of it. Until politicians, doctors, and bureaucrats resolve their differences, the price of proper medical attention will remain beyond the reach of most people.

Faced with cost and efficiency problems of their own, many hospitals are beginning to edge past the once unthinkable "$100-a-day fee" (eight New York hospitals passed this milestone last week). Some of the increases are unwarranted, as a hospital efficiency study conducted last year by Jerome Pollack, Associate Dean of Harvard Medical School, indicates: "We found that poor planning in the past had permitted excessive beds and whole hospitals to exist that should never have been built in the first place or long ago discarded. Obstetrical and pediatric beds were unoccupied almost as often as they were used. . . . We found wasteful and even harmful duplication of expensive equipment."

Very few people today can afford proper treatment if they are seriously ill. Most manage to get on a group insurance plan provided by employers. But a large number of self- or marginally-employed who work in such places as restaurants, drive-ins, or laundries, have no personal medical benefits. Various solutions have been offered, but none has had real support from government at any level. One of the most attractive proposals, as roughly envisioned by New York's "Governor's Committee on Hospital Costs," would establish a state insurance law requiring all employers to provide a basic hospitalization plan. Costs would be split between employer and employees, and coverage would be provided by Blue Cross, Blue Shield, and private insurance companies. Sudden unemployment would not result in a loss of coverage, and the government would subsidize coverage for the impoverished. The plan has the advantage of uniformity and eases the state's obligations.

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Death in Guatemala

John Gordon Mein, the late US Ambassador to Guatemala who was murdered by leftist guerrillas on the day of Humphrey's nomination, did not personify US policy in Latin America. He had spent much of his childhood in Latin America, as the son of a missionary, and as a career diplomat had lived abroad most of his adult life. He knew and understood more intimately the life and culture of Latin America than of the United States. It is precisely one of our major problems in Latin America that our State Department does not attract more men from Mein's kind of background. But he was not murdered for any personal qualities; he was murdered as the symbol of the US presence. And perhaps the most significant thing about his death as a symbol is that, until the guerrillas boasted of it, it was not known whether he had been killed by extremists of the right or of the left. Such is the bankruptcy of American policy in Guatemala, that we are hated with equal intensity by both sides. Such is the achievement of 14 years of a major concentration of US assistance to this small nation.

It was just eight years ago, in the campaign speeches of John F. Kennedy, that the US began to recognize the necessity for social and economic revolution as prerequisites to economic development in Latin America. Kennedy stressed this in his references to an "Alliance for Progress," and he lost no time in making its recognition a basis for official policy when he became President. In most of Latin America, this *Yanqui* call for the downtrodden masses to arise and cast off their chains fell on disdainful ears. It meant to the comfortably established leadership that a few token reforms would be rewarded with a few million American dollars. This was a game they understood, and were ready to play. But in Guatemala, the revolution was already under way. It had started 16 years before, when the Arevalo administration came to power and emancipated the Indians (a majority of the population) from forced labor. It had gained momentum in 1951, when the Arbenz regime was elected on a program of sweeping land reform. It is still very much alive today, though frustrated.

The hero of the Guatemalan left, Arbenz, was ousted in 1954, through the combined efforts of John Foster Dulles, US Ambassador Peurifoy, the Central Intelligence Agency, and a US-trained and equipped force of Guatemalan exiles in Honduras. Land reform was all right, but the reformers just had too many Marxist credentials. The difficulty was, and is, that where the established are so few, and so intractable, and where the dispossessed are so many, and so impoverished, as in Guatemala, no moderate reform can work. The reform must be radical and revolutionary, and hence appealing to the Marxists. As long as this makes it unacceptable to the US, there can be no "alliance for progress" between us and Guatemala.

In the meantime, we have honored the principle of the Alliance by giving support to the more moderate objective of fiscal reform, based on the principle that the rich should pay some of the taxes. This effort of the US-backed government of Mendez Montenegro has been successfully opposed by the right, but their victory has not moderated their hatred of their would-be oppressors, whom they identify indiscriminately as the US, the Mendez Montenegro government, and the communists. In the Middle, the Guatemalan government has survived only through the support of its heavily US financed military establishment, which cordially reciprocates the hatred of the right and left extremists with its own program of assassination.

So far, in the present phase of the Guatemalan revolution, perhaps as many as four thousand political murders have taken place. Ambassador Mein's is only the latest; it will certainly not be the last. The policy exemplified by our intervention in Guatemala and the Dominican Republic, as well as by our abortive intervention in Cuba and our peevish refusal to recognize Castro's *fait accompli*, can only arrest, it cannot kill the revolutionary forces that are at last surfacing in Latin America. It can, however, kill our chances of achieving the respect and friendship of the future leaders of Latin America. Meanwhile, it will continue to kill innocent bystanders. DAVID F. ROSS

Reaction to Czechoslovakia

Paris

In the fall of 1938, after Hitler had swallowed Austria and wrested the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia, the only question was: Who next? Now the Soviets have overpowered Czechoslovakia, and bewildered Europeans ask: Will Rumania be next? Or perhaps Yugoslavia? Or both? The clocks in Europe seem to have been turned back 30 years. Hopes for "peaceful coexistence," the "dismantling of military blocs," the "fading away of the Iron Curtain," suddenly seem to be fantasies.

"Why should the Russians not invade Rumania? Who will stop them? World opinion? We have just seen that world opinion doesn't give a damn," says a representative of an important European power who has just been transferred from the UN in Manhattan to Paris. "What a time! The French communists are

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more anti-Soviet than the French government," comments a well-known political writer. In some respects, the invasion of Czechoslovakia has made de Gaulle and his ministers look more inept to the French people than did the wave of student riots and workers' strikes of last May and June. Those acts of defiance destroyed de Gaulle's claim of French stability and French prosperity. (His subsequent electoral victory was of another origin – the fear of anarchy if his regime were to collapse.) Now, de Gaulle's long proclaimed theory of a "Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals" is in ruins. It is in ruins because Moscow insists that east of the Elbe her will, and only her will, is the law. In Paris the intellectuals, career diplomats, politicians, journalists, leftists, Gaullists, right-wingers, even communist sympathizers, speak with unprecedented unanimity about a "new Munich." They were especially angered by Foreign Minister Michel Debré's description of the invasion as a "traffic incident" which in no way should hamper the journey towards detente. "He deceived me," a prominent French editor said. "Only a few days earlier he had told me, 'The detente is finished'." The editor paused, then added: "Of course in the meantime, he saw the general. And the general cannot bear to have events prove him wrong."

The American attitude is assailed here in no less bitter terms. Here is a superpower which for the past 25 years wanted to be in a predominant position throughout the world. To that end, it has spent hundreds of billions of dollars. It has kept hundreds of thousands of troops stationed around the globe. Now everywhere in the world, the US finds itself in a position of weakness. Of course this weakness is attributed to "the tragic and endless involvement in Vietnam."

It is not that these critics of the US wanted the Americans "to die for Prague." But Washington's policy of carefully avoiding giving the Russians any offense, thereby proving US goodwill and sincerity, is now being generally derided. "How can a representative of a Western capitalist democracy ever hope to convince a Soviet leader of his goodwill? This amounts to trying to make him renounce his ideas. A communist accepts *a priori* that Westerners are men of ill will." That is a remark I have been hearing from people who care. Those who don't, consider the invasion of Prague no more than a "police operation" inside the Soviet bloc. But even they admit that it took place "disquietingly near" the heart of bourgeois Europe.

Most knowledgeable people with whom I have spoken believe that the invasion could have been avoided had Lyndon Johnson applied the same methods which John F. Kennedy used seven years ago to counter Khrushchev's ultimatum on West Berlin, when he shifted a few thousand American troops to Europe, and declared that the US would not let West Berlin fall into Soviet hands. Of course, these people add, Czechoslovakia has been in the Soviet sphere of influence since 1945, and the Americans have towards her none of the obligations which they contracted towards West Berlin. But those are niceties which ordinary people do not grasp. What the people of Western Europe, particularly of West Germany, now wonder is: "If Prague was not worth risking a war, who can guarantee that West Berlin is?" Everybody here thinks the main difference between Kennedy's action in 1961 and Johnson's passivity now is that then there were a few thousand Americans in Vietnam, and now. . . . Some even go so far as to speak of American-Soviet collusion. Repeated rumors of Johnson's intention to meet Premier Kosygin fan such feelings. At any rate, the inability of the US to do anything for the Czechs is considered the greatest single encouragement the "hard liners" in the Kremlin have had in years.

It must be added that the low rating of Lyndon Johnson and Dean Rusk in Europe did improve slightly when, in San Antonio, the President warned the Soviets not to invade Rumania. This was hailed all over Western Europe, especially as soon afterwards the Soviet ambassadors began visiting foreign offices in many Western capitals to deny any intention of repeating the Prague coup in Bucharest.

In European eyes, not only their own leaders but also those in Washington have been scarred by the Czech crisis. A man like Eugene McCarthy who, if a Gallup or Harris poll had been held in Europe would have scored as high as 75 percent only a few weeks ago, is now considered, as a result of his comment on Czechoslovakia, a narrow-minded Middle Westerner, knowing nothing of the big world outside the US.

When the Europeans look to the future, they find nothing better than the old concept of NATO. But they speak of a "rejuvenated NATO" in which the Americans no longer monopolize the commanding posts but have a share equal to their present modest forces in Europe – 200,000 men. Such a modernized NATO would depend on what France does. "For us," said one prominent Frenchman, "the alternative is clear: either the West Germans will throw themselves back into the arms of America, hoping the Americans will defend them against the Soviets, or we will make it a tripartite affair: US, France, and Germany." Such a new NATO, people believe here, would stress conventional forces – tanks, paratroopers, guns, planes. The invasion of Czechoslovakia has shown how important such forces are. Said one military commentator: "All the nuclear warheads and intercontinental missiles are strictly Soviet-American business. They have reached an equilibrium of terror and therefore those arms may never be used. Yet whole continents could fall under

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foreign domination." He added that for the Europeans any Soviet-American talks on rocket or nuclear disarmament would be "perhaps understandable but highly suspect," and that they would solve none of the specific problems of European security.

A "new NATO," however, will be on the agenda of the *new* American President, "after he gets out of Vietnam." But more than that may be necessary. France and some other European countries may also have to change their leadership. All this will take time, and the people here are by no means sure they have this time.

PHILIP BEN

The Drug Peddlers

Senator Gaylord Nelson is opening a new round of hearings on questionable practices in the drug industry. This time, Nelson plans to look into the dealings of drug company detail men, the salesmen who push drugs to doctors door to door and who, in many instances, are physicians' principal source of information concerning new drugs – their side-effects, applications, and safety. The senator and Food and Drug Administration witnesses will have a number of atrocity stories to tell about sales practices of some of the most respected drug firms – Richardson-Merrell, Bristol Laboratories, and Pfizer, among others.

Detail men are peddlers in the most prosaic sense. They are employed at a good salary to convince doctors to prescribe the drugs their employers put out. The merchandise might as well be used cars, or home appliances; talent for merchandising and a memory for sales patter are all that is required. For the most part detail men are not physicians (usually they were chemistry majors). Their employers tell them what to say and how to say it and, following instructions and the immutable Laws of Market Research, they achieve predictable results. D-men are told not to lie, but exaggeration, obfuscation, scapegoating, and other gambits out of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* are within the rules.

The Food and Drug Administration has the legal power to regulate claims made in written presentations by drug firms, but it has no way to put words in the mouths of the drug peddlers. There is no foolproof method to scrutinize talks between a physician and a detail man, and no law purports to try. (William Goodrich, FDA's chief counsel, does believe that FDA has authority over oral claims by detail men under the labeling provisions of the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, but it is difficult to see how the authority could be effectively exercised.) So while printed ads must be accurate (there have been many FDA actions against misrepresentations in printed matter too), the detail man is free to compose variations on the theme and thus convince medical practitioners that a drug lacks hazards that it doesn't. Aplastic anemia is a rare but horrible side-effect of chloramphenicol (Chloromycetin), an antibiotic specific for typhoid but sometimes prescribed for all manner of infections for which other, safer drugs are equally efficacious. Its ingestion can result in painful, agonizing death. Its sales profile – recently somewhat depressed by Sen. Nelson's job on Parke, Davis & Co. – is a tribute to the work of detail men.

Earlier this year Dr. William C. Hewson, a Philadelphia attorney and physician, testified before Nelson's monopoly subcommittee that the documented overuse and misuse of the drug resulted from false promotional claims (as the courts had already ruled). "The alleged negligence of Parke, Davis & Co.," he said, "was bottomed on the theory that the company had in effect, by its overpromotion of Chloromycetin, set the standard for the medical profession for the use of that drug. . . . Because of Parke, Davis *advertising and detailing methods*, it was argued, physicians had been misled into using the drug indiscriminately in disregard of the potential toxic effects. . . ."

Dr. Albe M. Watkins, of La Canada, California, testified that Chloromycetin was given him by a representative of Parke, Davis. "I have made it a habit when they come in to extol the virtues of a drug to ask them about the [possible adverse] reactions first. And this [sales]man told me there were no reactions; this was a perfectly safe antibiotic. So I took the drug home and placed it in my medicine cabinet." Subsequently Dr. Watkins administered the drug to his son for a urinary-tract infection. The boy died several months later from its effects.

In *Yarrow* v *Sterling Drug, Inc.*, a 1967 case, a US District Court in South Dakota held that Sterling's detail man failed to warn a prescribing physician of the side-effects of the drug chloroquinine phosphate. The court held that although the D-man explained the drug's uses and provided the doctor with printed material warning of side-effects, he failed in his oral presentations to bring side-effects personally to the physician's attention and thus Sterling was held liable for blindness caused by the drug in one patient.

The William S. Merrell Co. (a division of Richardson-Merrell) whose anti-cholesterol drug MER/29 was ultimately taken off the market because of side-effects that included liver damage, hair loss, hepatitis, and cataracts, promoted MER/29 with elaborate patter manuals asking detail men to assure doctors that the drug worked, was safe, and should be prescribed. Salesmen were told, in sentences punctuated with multiple exclamation marks, to memorize a pitch and

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know it well enough that it could not be seen through as "canned." They were instructed to affect excitement ("You owe it to yourself – to your company – to the millions of people who need MER/29, to be enthusiastic! ! !") and told how to deliver the line ("Lean forward – toward the doctor. Automatically tighten your stomach muscles as you make your presentation. This forces a change of the inflection of your voice and paves the way for deeper penetration of the benefits you are describing.") Finally, the detail men were told how to shift any doctor's suspicions about a Merrell drug to medicine made by other firms ("Even if you know your drug can cause the side-effect mentioned, chances are equally good the same effect is being caused by a second drug! You let your drug take the blame when you counter with a defensive answer. Know how to answer side-effects honestly, yes, but get the facts first. Doctor, what other drugs is the patient taking? Been doing it for years? Why didn't you tell us then?") This line supposedly got the clottish physician to attribute undesirable side-effects to Upjohn or Lilly. The tactic was rationalized because, rhetoric aside, the cause was good: "There is no longer any valid question as to its [MER/29] safety or lack of significant side-effects."

Lloyd N. Cutler, the Washington attorney for Merck, has supplied Gaylord Nelson with that firm's equivalent publication, "Developing Your Sales Personality," which Cutler says had been used by "many companies both here and abroad." Questions of efficacy, side-effects, etc., are here ignored. Instead the talk is of "eye contact," "courtesy habits that radiate respect," "voice warmth," "animation," and "eliminating kinks that make your sales personality repel."

Unfortunately, detail men are highly respected by doctors. The Canadian Medical Association Journal last April surveyed physicians and found that, among many who responded, detail men were considered the most informative source of data on drugs – more informative than ads in medical journals, which doctors tended to dismiss as mere advertising. And a rather ancient American Medical Association study concluded similarly that doctors get a part of their post-grad education from advertising and detail men employed by drug firms. D-men were considered the most important source of information about new drugs by 36 percent of the doctors contacted by AMA.

Drug detailing will have a further airing when Sen. Nelson discusses the promotion of Bristol Labs' drug, Dynapen; Pfizer's Vibramycin; and Richardson-Merrell's MER/29 this week. The discussion may result in Nelson's proposing new abuse-curbing legislation.

Drug firms might be dissuaded from making any oral presentation about their drugs whatsoever, thus confining all advertising and promotion to the printed kind already strictly regulated by the Food and Drug Administration. Or Congress could devise a system, modelled after county agricultural agents, whereby government experts would be dispatched to doctors with dispassionate news about drugs and with nobody's interest to serve but the public's.

DAVID SANFORD

Mayor Daley's Mouthpiece

Anyone who wants to understand why Richard J. Daley acts the way he does, can do worse than to spend an hour with one of the mayor's most influential aides, Press Secretary Earl Bush.

He is short, rumpled, excitable, with a faintly furtive air. His crowded, nondescript office has little in common with the boss' imposing quarters. His title is far from grand. But he is a long-time intimate of the man he calls "the mare," and his views play an important part in shaping Daley's thinking. Bush boasts that "I can swing as liberal lingo as the next guy," drops the names of egghead periodicals and tells visitors, "I'm Jewish, you know," to prove that he could not possibly be bigoted.

A pair of lengthy interviews that took place just before and just after the Chicago riots of last April are revealing. For example, the Chicago cops' rough handling of journalists during the Democratic Convention makes more sense in light of Bush's bland warning (while discussing the problems created by television covering demonstrations) that "this year I'll give the police permission to chase the cameras." Although he was once a reporter himself, Bush has contempt for those who practice his old trade. "You've got to have faith in people," he says. "Thank God they don't believe everything they see on TV or read in the papers."

Here are a few excerpts from his other remarks:

On Daley's "shoot to kill" order – "It was damn bad reporting. They should have printed what he meant, not what he said. We had a situation where the media were very critical of the mayor, but apparently a great deal of the public agrees. I don't know what's wrong with the mayor's statement."

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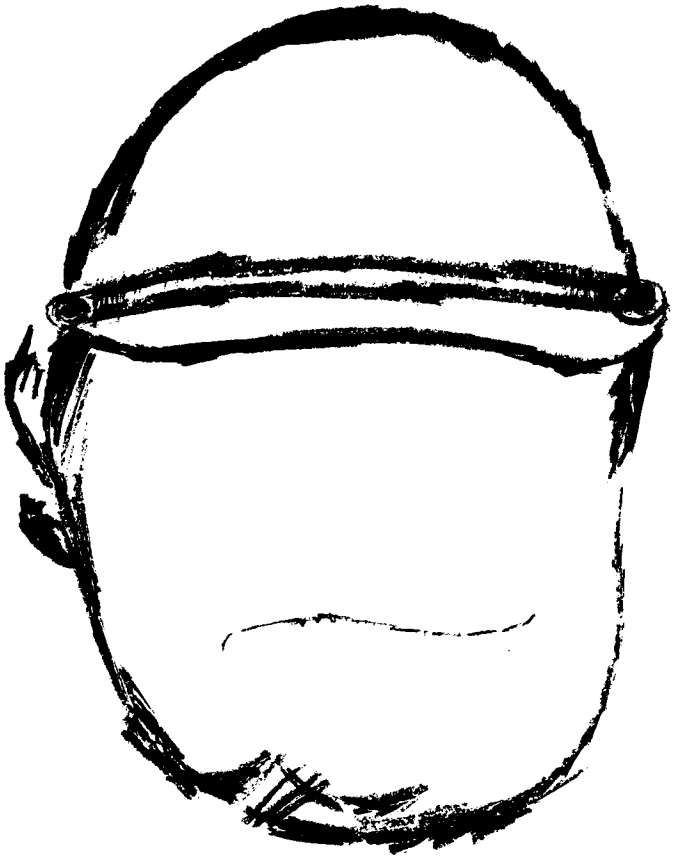
On Negroes in politics – "White precinct captains in the Negro wards would give their right arm to get out. Their lives are in danger. But they are there because they're enormously more effective than Negroes. It's the peculiar culture of the Negroes that they have much more faith in white leaders than in black. A Negro precinct captain brings out 200 votes. A white captain will bring out 1,000. Each organization gives each captain money to employ workers. A Negro captain gets $300 and puts $200 in his pocket."

On responsibility for the April riot – "Poverty hasn't got a damn thing to do with this. The middle class is doing this. Who are your black power people? They're leading it, burning the poor homes down, not their own. The Negro middle class has it made. They're the ones who're conducting the revolution. We arrested 2,000 people and confiscated $85,000 from them."

On William Cousins, black, soft-spoken former Republican and Harvard Law School graduate who is now an anti-Daley member of the city council – "You ask the FBI about Cousins. He won because the Blackstone Rangers clubbed people and terrorized them to get him the win. The daily papers reported on that election and the relationship between Cousins and the Rangers and the Disciples." (Chicago reporters profess no knowledge of such stories.) Why isn't Cousins in jail? "It may happen. Cousins is a hand-carrying card member [sic]. I could take Cousins and buy him tomorrow. But he's a bad egg – the kind you don't deal with. You don't touch people who deal with the Rangers, Disciples and black nationalists. They're poisoned. Tell me one effort he's made to help his people. Cousins wouldn't help anybody. He's interested in power, power based on negativism. Everything that helps the Negro is bad for Cousins." (Bush later asked that his remarks on Cousins be disregarded on grounds that they were "irrelevant!")



On Negro economic development – "Who do you think owns the slums in Lawndale? Sixty to 70 percent are owned by Negroes." (On another occasion he put the figure at 50 percent.) "They're no better than the white slumlords. Who owns the stores? Negroes. Can they [develop the ghetto]? Show me. Can they run their own stores? They don't know how to run industry. They've got to work with somebody to do it. I'm in favor of Operation Breadbasket [the Southern Christian Leadership Council's economic pressure organization]. But it's also an extortion racket. Some stores pay off not to be picketed. They don't come in with clean hands."

On Daley's popularity in the black community – "Go see it [when the mayor opens some new public housing units in Lawndale]. You will see the most touching scene in your life. The measure of respect and reverence is unbelievable. He is adored because he believes the way to reach the people is to do something. In the Negro community he's like a god. He is a master with people. You can't get it without having it [sic]. It will show if it's put on."

On Negro protest leadership – "Who do they represent? Dick Gregory rented the Coliseum, which seats 12,000 and he drew 250. And it was free. Without TV he couldn't make page 40. Twelve years ago he couldn't get in the paper. They don't mean anything. Since King was here, there's been no civil rights demonstration with more than 600 people. And 40 percent of them are under 16. The poor aren't revolting. The Negroes run faster from a poor Negro than any white ever did in his life. They're not interested in programs, just in power."

On the black threat to Chicago – "Sooner or later, if the Negroes have nowhere to go they will immerse the city. They have to have more places to go than just the city or the city is doomed."

Any further questions? Dan Cordtz

Mr. Cordtz *is a former Washington editor of* Fortune.

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Winning by Losing

It cannot often be true that the loser wins more than the successful contestant in a challenge of the constitutionality of a law bearing on freedom of expression and discussion of both the plaintiff and the defendant. Yet that is exactly the situation in which the University of Illinois found itself when it lost its case in defense of the Illinois "anti-subversives law," known as the Clabaugh Act. After degrading the Illinois statute books for 21 years, the Clabaugh Act was unanimously declared unconstitutional by a special court of three federal judges during the summer academic lull. The law was held to be a violation of the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the US Constitution.

The Clabaugh Act was designed and passed in 1947 to keep communist speakers off the campuses of the University of Illinois. Only one sentence long it read: "No trustee, official, instructor, or other employe of the University of Illinois shall extend to any subversive, seditious, and un-American organization, or to its representatives, the use of any facilities of the University for the purpose of carrying on, advertising or publicizing the activities of such organization."

Federal Court of Appeals Judge Roger J. Kiley and District Court Judges Alexander J. Napoli and Bernard M. Decker, sitting at Chicago, were not taken in by the fact that the Clabaugh Act, as they phrased it, was "so drafted that it affects speech in an oblique manner, by purporting to regulate only the conduct of the Board of Trustees and other officials and employes of the University of Illinois."

The three judges said bluntly: "We are not the first Court to look through form to the substance of a regulation touching First Amendment freedom. The speech-inhibiting purpose of the Clabaugh Act is apparent from the face of the Act itself." They read and weighed the University's speakers policy and said that the Trustees were not living up to it: "It is clear from the record here that the University of Illinois has adopted an open door policy with regard to guest speakers, allowing any guest speaker who had been invited by a recognized student group, to speak at a reasonable time, space permitting; but that the University denied plaintiffs the opportunity to hear the speaker of their choice, solely on the basis of the speaker's associations and the views to be espoused."

The University's Administration and its Board of Trustees, which is elected statewide, both of which became defendants in a student-faculty attack on the law, read the forthright libertarian decision of July 11, said literally nothing for two weeks and then on July 24 announced that there would be no appeal to the US Supreme Court. The University's legal counsel who had spent many hours supporting the Clabaugh Act and answering the arguments of its critics in court and out, took the realistic position that an appeal would be useless since the Supreme Court unquestionably would uphold the finding of unconstitutionality by the trial court.

Illinois State Representative Charles W. Clabaugh who sits at Springfield for Champaign County (which includes the University's parent campus) showed no more disposition than the University to push the matter. But he took a crack at the decision and its authors: "The way federal courts are constituted anymore, I can't remember when they have decided a case in favor of any law trying to curb disloyalty." Then he said he would not introduce any new legislation seeking to cure the "vagueness" of his measure.

And so at long last Illinois' odious Clabaugh Act is dead. Since the University Trustees and Administration did little or nothing to get the restrictive law off the University's back but actually defended it in Court and so on the record preferred to keep it in force, they get no credit for achieving this notable gain for academic freedom in Lincoln's state.

Passed by the Illinois House with only one opposing vote, the Clabaugh Act received state approval, Aug. 8, 1947. By way of justification, the statute's preamble asserted that "at the present there is on the campus of the University of Illinois a society euphemistically designated 'the American Youth for Democracy'." This society, continued the preamble, "strives, not for the preservation of those institutions to which a group of students earnestly working for democracy should be devoted, but instead for the destruction of principles that democracy holds sacred."

Why did the law apply only to the University of Illinois? Why did it not include any of the other state educational institutions? Because, explained Representative Clabaugh, "the University of Illinois was at that time the only one of the state-supported colleges big enough for the AYD to even bother with. It wasn't a discriminatory thing at all."

As the years passed enrollments grew rapidly at Carbondale, Normal and DeKalb, at Charleston and Macomb, sites of other state-maintained universities. But the Clabaugh Act was never extended beyond the University of Illinois. In fact a bill introduced in the Illinois Legislature in 1967 to enlarge the act's jurisdiction was expressly rejected.

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This did not trouble the University of Illinois Trustees sufficiently for them to take official action to free their institution from a discrimination so uncomplimentary. Dr. David Dodds Henry, the president of the University, said in 1967 that in "the previous 11 years of my tenure, no occasion arose which required the University to apply the law and no properly sponsored visiting speaker was denied access to campus facilities and audience."

But the absence of a record of "arbitrary interference with visiting speaker programs," to quote Dr. Henry again, was not reassuring enough. Student editors and writers on *The Daily Illini* and some members of the student government began asking themselves: How could anyone know that the Clabaugh Act had not been operating as a prior censorship thus keeping some speakers from being invited to the University of Illinois? So they called in 1966 for repeal.

At the Chicago Circle campus the opposition took on solid substance. A student organization known as Illini Humanists decided to put the Clabaugh Act to what others had shied away from – a showdown test. They invited Louis Diskin of Chicago, a member of the Communist Party, to speak at a duly arranged meeting. Chancellor Norman A. Parker, then vice president, conditioned the University's approval on prior written assurance that "the proposed speech will not carry on, advertise or publicize the subversive and seditious activities of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and that to the best of your knowledge, no violations of law will occur in connection with the speech." Neither the Humanists nor Diskin would give the written assurance. Vice President Parker then withheld University approval and the meeting was canceled.

This official act barring a speaker from appearing before an authorized student meeting brought a prompt protest from the University's College of Law faculty. On March 14, 1966, the law professors resolved, without dissent, that the Clabaugh Act, "even on the doubtful assumption that it is valid [is] an unwise and unnecessary exercise of the legislative power, far more dangerous in its effects upon a free society and the integrity of the educational process than the presumed evils it is intended to obviate." The professors stated their objections as follows:

1. It is an unwarranted political restraint upon the authority of the Trustees to govern the University;

2. It interferes with the educational functions of the University by denying students, faculty, other University personnel and the public generally the freedom to hear divergent views, and thus distorts the educational process of free inquiry and discourse.

3. It embodies the principle of censorship and prior restraint, the very antithesis of the fundamental freedoms of speech, press and association guaranteed by the First and Fourteenth Amendments.

The law faculty, then presided over by Dean Russell N. Sullivan, called on the President of the University and the Board of Trustees "to take all appropriate steps to obtain the repeal of this statute."

Making the University and the Trustees defendants, the Humanists thereupon sued in federal court to declare the act "illegal and void on its face." Plaintiffs No. 1 and No. 2 were students Michael Snyder and Michael Stavy, president and vice-president respectively of the Humanists. Joined with them were more than 20 members of the Chicago Circle faculty. In the year that followed the faculty senates at the two campuses went on record for repeal, as did the student government organizations on those campuses.

Although the University counsel continued vigorously to defend the Clabaugh Act in Court, the University Administration was beginning to have doubts. In 1967 President Henry informed the Trustees that he regarded the act as educationally unnecessary and administratively unworkable. Judges Kiley, Napoli and Decker went far beyond these limited objections. Upholding the plaintiff students and faculty members, the court declared:

". . . the Clabaugh Act, both on its face and as applied to these plaintiffs, has denied them due process of law, because it lacks the precision of language required for a statute regulating an area so closely intertwined with First Amendment liberties; because it is an unjustifiable prior restraint to speech; and because it lacks the procedural safeguards required for a form of regulation amounting to censorship."

Noting that the prohibited speaker, Diskin, "has not joined in this action," the judges said: "Although most challenges to regulations of speech are initiated by the speaker, there is respectable authority indicating that the audience, which is, after all, a principal beneficiary of the First Amendment, also has standing to seek relief against illegal censorship" (*Lamont* v. *Postmaster General*, 1965).

Then the judges seemingly addressed themselves to the University Administration's point that there was no record of "arbitrary interference" with speakers. The Clabaugh Act, they ruled, "stifles communication even before it has taken place. It does not regulate merely the form of the speech – the time, place and manner of speaking. It classifies and regulates speech on the basis of the content, the very ideas to be expressed. By thus acting as a prior restraint on the substance of the contemplated speech, the Clabaugh Act raises the spectre of censorship."

IRVING DILLIARD

An alumnus and former Trustee of the University of Illinois, MR. DILLIARD *was editor of the* St. Louis Post-Dispatch *editorial page.*

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Black Cooperatives

by Michael Miles

A major preoccupation of American social scientists is demonstrating that radicals have no following. According to samplings made for Xerox's "Black America" television specials, for instance, only six percent of black people "approve" of Stokely Carmichael. For all the agitation over community control of schools in New York, the Center for Urban Education reports that only one-third of Bedford-Stuyvesant residents favor community control. These results are hardly a revelation. The enduring paradox of radicalism is the reconciliation of faith in the people with the knowledge of their conservatism.

Few Americans are more conservative than poor black people in the South, who have lived since their legal emancipation in the economic and spiritual bondage of a feudal agricultural system. If they are tenants, blacks must mortgage their crops to landlords before the planting season in order to get seed and fertilizer for farming, and cash and rent for subsistence. If they strike out on their own, they get no assistance from banks or the appointed federal agency – the Farmers Home Administration – because they have no collateral and no independent production history. Furnishing merchants are glad to help out at the going interest rates of six to eight percent. At the end of the harvest, if they are unlucky, black farmers, whether tenants or owners, have nothing to show but more debt. If they are lucky, they have nothing at all.

In recent years, even this fugitive security has been eroded by the effects of the industrial revolution in Southern agriculture. Subsidized by the Department of Agriculture, plantation owners and prosperous white farmers have been able to mechanize their operations and diversify their crops (King Cotton has abdicated). As a consequence of the expanded production of their masters, black people are left with fewer jobs on mechanized, white-owned farms and with reduced allotments under the federal agricultural system for relatively unprofitable crops such as cotton and corn. Lacking the resources to mechanize and diversify, unaided by the federal government, and finding no employment opportunity in the rural South, younger blacks migrate to Southern cities or to Northern ghettos at the rate of 100,000 a year, while older people remain in the thralldom of unemployment or subsistence farming. The departure of a restive native population suits the well-heeled Southerner just fine. A Southern governor recently informed a luncheon companion that his state was going to have the highest per capita income in the country. Pressed by his incredulous listener, he was happy to elaborate: "Why, we're gonna move all the poor people out."

Now on this barren ground of Southern agriculture there has grown up a baby movement of black cooperatives. One of the first was Southern Consumers in Lafayette, La., which was founded in 1961 by a black priest, Father Albert McKnight, and now has 2,000 members throughout southern Louisiana. Most of the cooperatives, however, have arisen since that time out of the Civil Rights and Black Power movements, and have taken form as a discernible movement only in the last two years with some strategic financial assistance from OEO and the Ford Foundation. Today there are some 40 of these cooperatives, democratically controlled by a membership of 12,000 families, most of whom live in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, or Louisiana. Cooperative organizers have found these families deeply skeptical and fatalistic about the prospects of controlling their own destiny through cooperative organizations. But as good conservatives, poor blacks know what they like – some money, enough to eat. By generating financial and technical assistance, the cooperative technique is offering black people the prospect of expanding their production, diversifying their crops, and marketing their produce. At the same time, they are acquiring a taste for freedom. What co-op members now perceive as a means – self-determination – will in the course of time also be perceived as an end. If they had been polled before they joined the co-ops, these people would no doubt have preferred a well-paying job with Mr. Charlie to membership. The public opinion sample would have arrested a political development, thus eliminating educational processes from democracy in the name of democracy. Without the political education that grows out of a political process, there is no possibility for social change. There is no radical politics.

The most celebrated of the black cooperatives is the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association (SWAFCA) which was organized in the Alabama Black Belt last year by veterans of the Selma march. Consisting of members whose average family income

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was less than $1,500 a year in an area in which 20 percent of the residents had migrated in the previous five years, SWAFCA was designed to underwrite the production of vegetables, which have been resistant to mechanization and should continue to be largely labor-intensive for at least the next decade. The co-op also marketed some of the members' cotton. That operation disrupted the system of exploitation of the black farmer, which depends on the identification of each farmer's cotton at the warehouse so that it can immediately be appropriated by his creditors. Last year, Sam Williams' bale didn't arrive, but a SWAFCA bale did.

The economic and political powers of white Alabama reacted with a vengeance to SWAFCA's small-scale activities. Mixing plants refused to sell fertilizer and lime trucks refused to deliver to co-op members, while processing plants discontinued purchases of pickling cucumbers and Southern peas from co-op members. Truckers hired by SWAFCA were stopped for "traffic violations," and the organization was attacked by local newspapers and politicos.

SWAFCA nonetheless survived and was able to sell $50,000 worth of vegetables for its members and to set up a $35,000 loan guarantee fund which unlocked $100,000 of credit for its members from lending institutions. King Pharr and Whitfield Pickle, the major processors in the area, were forced to raise their purchase prices for cucumbers and peas by 50 percent because of SWAFCA's competition and a thousand new people joined the 800 members in the co-op. SWAFCA's enemies also failed to prevent a $400,000 grant from OEO. Whitfield Pickle flew up, in the company jet, politicians and probate judges – literally, the courthouse gang – from the ten counties served by SWAFCA, who then descended upon the OEO offices accompanied by the entire Alabama congressional delegation. Gov. Lurleen Wallace vetoed the grant on grounds of its "communist" and "black power" connotations. In this case, however, OEO resisted the pressure and its director overrode the veto.

At the end of the harvest season this year, SWAFCA will probably have sold several hundred thousand dollars worth of produce despite some deficiencies in grading which cost them dearly in the sale of an earlier cucumber crop. The organization has an estimated potential to market a $3 million crop for its members and thus double their income. Technical consultants are studying the feasibility of SWAFCA constructing with Federal subsidy its own $750,000 vegetable freezing plant, in order to market "Southern vegetables" (greens, Southern peas, sweet potatoes, etc.) nationally. This capability would be helpful since the local A&P refuses to buy SWAFCA produce.

The dynamics of the co-op's economic growth has created political power. This power has in turn channeled a flow of Federal agriculture money into the organization, thus improving its economic potential. In January of this year, SWAFCA applied to the Farmers Home Administration for economic assistance. The FHA proposed a $400,000 loan, which the co-op's board of directors judged insufficient to finance the envisioned receiving and distribution stations and expanded revolving fund. In May FHA approved an $852,000 loan but attached 32 conditions, under which the agency would supervise all expenditures, approve any new financing from public or private sources, and sit in on all board meetings. SWAFCA refused to sign away its independence.

On the same day that the Department of Agriculture had its doors locked against possible invasion by the troops of the Poor People's Campaign, representatives of SWAFCA and its Washington allies negotiated with Agriculture officials in Orville Freeman's office. Assistant Secretary of Agriculture John Baker, an associate of Rexford Tugwell in the New Deal days, consistently blocked the SWAFCA negotiators, and the meeting adjourned. Later in the day, Baker had a change of heart and the negotiations resumed for 18 straight hours until 5 a.m. the next day. After further negotiations, it was finally agreed that FHA would lend to SWAFCA as a "demonstration project," thus circumventing not only the standard conditions of FHA loans but also state FHA officials in Alabama. Not at all pleased to be overruled, national FHA director Howard Bertsch subsequently offered his resignation as a ceremonial gesture and as a warning against making SWAFCA a precedent for other cooperatives.

Like any good bank, the FHA hates to make high-risk loans. Although three-quarters of the borrowers in Alabama's Black Belt are Negro, they receive less than half of FHA's loan money. As Alabama FHA Director Robert Bamberg explained to the US Civil Rights Commission at its recent Montgomery hearings, "some people have more resources to borrow more money than others . . . it goes back to this, in many cases, our nigger population has small acreage." FHA also does not like to circumvent its state apparatus. As it happens, their man in Alabama, Bamberg, owns a 4,000 acre farm in Perry County and advances credit to his black sharecrop families at a rate above the federal program which he administers. Bamberg told the civil rights commission that the "human kingdom is just like the animal kingdom. The strong take it away from the weak, and the smart take it away from the strong." In confirmation of Bamberg's maxim, SWAFCA has been smart enough to extract more than $250,000 in individual loans for its members from FHA.

Some black residents of Taliaferro County, Georgia,

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have also had some singular success recently in obtaining loans from FHA. In the case of Crawfordville Enterprises, there is the same cross-fertilization of economic development and political organization, growing out of earlier civil rights struggles. In 1964, black people in the county requested the use of the local gymnasium in the white high school for their 750 students. The school board refused until it was ordered by the courts to integrate as a result of the efforts of SCLC organizers. The county's white residents responded by bussing their children to neighboring county schools or sending them to "private academies."

The Taliaferro school system fired two black schoolteachers, Robert Billingsly and Calvin Turner, for their role in the de-segregation struggle. It was these men who set up a silk screening operation in Crawfordville down the road from a state park commemorating Alexander H. Stephens, first vice-president of the Confederacy. The operation failed for lack of capital and know-how in a small, predominantly black and economically depressed county whose population is half what it was after the Civil War and whose employment level is half that of 1950.

Working with Randolph Blackwell, a SCLC lieutenant, Billingsly and Turner re-constituted their operation as Crawfordville Enterprises, a community corporation with a democratically elected board of directors (with the stipulation that one-third be employees of the enterprise and one-third be non-residents selected for technical competence). Initially capitalized by private sources and since funded by OEO, Crawfordville has operated on a budget of $350,000, manufacturing pants and shirts for Shirley of Atlanta, and sponsoring a community development program including various social services.

Crawfordville Enterprises has been in serious financial difficulty of late. Its problems – and the interpretations of its problems – illustrate the various possibilities in cooperative economic development. When Crawfordville began running in the red even with the benefit of Federal subsidy, it became clear that several management mistakes had been made. The most serious was a contract with a middleman who was buying Crawfordville's products for less than the standard price. Labor efficiency was not particularly high; cost accounting was poor; there were delays in deliveries.

According to one school of thought concerning low-income cooperatives, evidence of "bad management" is sufficient justification for a more professionalized management and for intervention from Washington or whatever the capital sources. Not only should funds for the employment of professionals be provided and technical assistance rendered, but grants should be conditional upon specific management decisions.

A second school rejects the mystique of "management" and maintains that the leaders of poor folk, adequately funded and technically assisted, are well able to run an economic enterprise if they are given time to learn through the same kind of initial mistakes that professional businessmen regularly make. Since most new enterprises in the mainstream economic world fail, it is hardly surprising in this view that some poor people's cooperatives should also fail. These men would like to reconcile community autonomy with external capital sources by funding virtually *carte blanche* for the long haul. One of the more substantial black cooperatives, the Poor People's Corp. of Jackson, Miss., has solved the problem in its own way. It has refused Federal money.

For all its problems, it is hardly fair to write Crawfordville Enterprises off as a failure because it has not turned a profit in two years. All of its original workers were unemployed people who had no experience in the garment industry. The plant is producing garments of good quality; its people are earning $60 a week, some four times their average before Crawfordville Enterprises. A number of the community corporation's 80 employees are people who have actually *returned* to Crawfordville from Northern cities where they had previously migrated. If it is highly subsidized, so also are the maritime industry, the military/aerospace corporations, the universities.

Black cooperatives are chiefly in need of capital and technical assistance. The formation of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives will go some distance in this direction by providing funds for loan guarantees and technical assistance in accounting, credit management, agricultural economy, and marketing. Adequately capitalized, co-ops can succeed on a limited scale. It is too early to estimate whether black cooperatives and community corporations can play a really major role in rural development for the entire black population in the South. There are both economic and political reasons for skepticism. However, there is little evidence to suggest that the alternative – employment in new industries locating in the South – which is favored by liberals and conservatives alike, will ever trickle down to Southern blacks. Union Bag-Camp recently located a plant in Prattville, Alabama, but for black people, it meant only 20 menial jobs. Whatever their economic potential, cooperative black enterprises have this advantage – they reach black people because they *are* black people. After the assassination of Martin Luther King, Crawfordville workers consulted Randy Blackwell, the organization's founding father, on whether to take the day off since everyone was crying and no work was getting done. Blackwell told them that they would have to decide themselves since they owned Crawfordville. They went home early that day and set aside Tuesday as well.

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Children of Our Time

Warrendale is so moving, so fascinating and fine, that I hesitate to say what it's about. The moment I mention the subject, the reader will perhaps think that the film is noble and worthwhile but that he is willing to take its worth for granted and spare himself. This would be self-cheating: not of information or duty but of humanity and, in a paradoxical way, of joy. *Warrendale* is a documentary about emotionally disturbed children. It is not a study, it is not propaganda. It is an *experience*, passionate and compassionate.

Warrendale
(Grove Press)

The title is the (former) name of a center in Ontario for disturbed children, not brain-damaged or mentally defective children. In 1966 a Canadian film-maker named Allan King was commissioned by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to make a film about the place. He spent a month getting acquainted with the children in House Two. Then he brought in his cameraman William Brayne and his sound man Russel Heise for about two weeks of similar visits. Then they shot film for five weeks in and around the house. Out of forty hours of footage, this hundred-minute film was edited by Peter Moseley. Hurrah – just plain simple hurrah – for all of them.

Most feature films are made by men who first create or help create or somehow acquire fictional scripts, and then guide actors and other artists to the fulfillment of the fiction. With a film like *Warrendale*, nothing can be created except – a huge exception – the confidence of the subjects. The film-makers have to know, really, who their subjects are, and the subjects have to believe it. In short, the prime requirement is not film talent as such, though these men have enough, but empathy, communion, credibility. The most brilliant film-maker alive would have been powerless to make *Warrendale* without the confidence of those children (and the adult staff). That confidence, in King and his colleagues, shines from the screen – principally by virtue of the film's very existence.

It starts with the counselor of the house, a young woman named Terry, waking the children one morning and having a tussle with a teen-age girl who refuses to get up, who pulls the blankets over her head and fights Terry. My reaction the first time I saw this film (I've seen it twice) was that the girl was perfectly right: who *would* want to get up when there was a camera grinding away in the bedroom? And I began to warm up all my prejudices against the intrusiveness of much *cinéma-vérité*. But it didn't take long to see that my feeling was quite misplaced, that the girl's reaction was (one might say) natural – she didn't want to get up just as naturally as if she and Terry had been alone. This is proved by the spontaneity of all the other actions in the picture, including many by that girl. The camera quite obviously became just another occupant of the house. At one point, one of the boys, blithely playing Red Light with some other children in the street outside, confides to the camera that he can see his friends' steps with his back turned because of the reflections in the lens.

The basic Warrendale technique is "holding": when a child has an emotional seizure, an outsize tantrum, one of the attendants – sometimes two or three – pins his arms and legs and lets him rip. Complete freedom of feeling is the essence, with restraint to keep the child from hurting himself and to provide a sense of physical contact, the *caring* of somebody else. We see this method used frequently with these volatile children. But, crucially, a foreword tells us that this is *not a documentary about a technique*, it is a personal, selective record of an experience. I have no idea whether the "holding" technique is good or bad therapy. I do know that King's film about the place where it was used brought me close, in a naked and tribal way, to five or six emotionally disturbed children. It revealed not only the personalities but the worth of these children. There's a boy named Tony, about ten, splay-toothed and curly-haired, whose every second expression is "Fuck off," repeated in a pathetic defensive litany. When he's struggling in the counselors' arms during one of his tantrums, swearing furiously, I could only think, because of what I knew about him, even because of what he was doing at the moment and why he was doing it, "That's a *wonderful* kid. That's a terrific human being." King had led that boy on to film before then, had shown him playing and blushing and teasing and talking; now, because Tony was *present*, his tantrum seemed one of his ways to express an exceptional sensitivity.

The film merely presents some events in the life of the house. The central point is the sudden death of the relatively young Negro cook, a woman evidently dear to everyone. The chief counselor decides to announce it to all the children at once, and the resulting scene is heartbreaking – but not in a bedlam horror sense. Before the meeting one of the counselors asks the chief how they can explain the death to the kids when they don't understand it themselves. What we see with the children is this bafflement and fright *in extremis*. All the children feel various kinds of guilt for the cook's death. This – enormously amplified in them – is something that all of us feel at sudden death, particularly of the young: not directly responsible, as the children feel, but haunted by the sense that we ought to have been able to do *something*.

This experience is a model of the whole film. These children act out, in exaggerated and baroque ways, many feelings that other children – other people – feel and suppress or understand objectively and can control. These children have little objectivity or control and they just let go: guilt

(Continued on page 41)

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Books and the Arts

Cult of the Breakthrough

by Kenneth Burke

As the editor well says of the turbulent man who wrote these letters (most of them by hand), "All of Roethke's poetry involves search, transformation, the continuous process of becoming, in technique and style obviously, and also in vision, in the depth and intensity of experience he pursued." In an age when scientists speak often of "breakthroughs" in the realm of knowledge, Roethke was interested in a poetic counterpart, though he was not the sort of person who would have presented his search in such terms.

Selected Letters of Theodore Roethke
Edited with an Introduction by
Ralph J. Mills, Jr.
(University of Washington; $6.95)

What the scientific searcher might seek to describe or formulate for an observer, the aesthetics of poetry would transform into *experience for a participant*. The possible range would comprise rarity, oddity, magic, the mystical, and breakdown. And Roethke worked his way indeterminately through several of these phases.

His most important breakthrough, it has always seemed to me, took place during the time at Bennington College when he hit upon what I have called his "vegetal radicalism," as embodied in his greenhouse poems. He could thereby say it with flowers, which have always provided a basic poetic terminology for signalling states of mind. These resources had a special potentiality in his case. For among the formative circumstances of his early years was the fact that he had been raised in an environment of greenhouses – and this sudden, exceptionally beautiful breakthrough (with its objectivist sense of the image being drawn from the well of old memories) could also in effect be a species of "regression," vigorously reawaking in him the somewhat magical notions of guilt and authority that we all have at our roots. The psychic riskiness of the poems added to their allurement for the reader (or at least for me, whom they summoned like a gong, from the moment Roethke first showed me some of them). But he was feeling around in a treacherous area – and when some purely personal troubles befell him in his relations with Bennington, he was all ready for the mental tangles that became interwoven with the remarkable longer poems for which the greenhouse pieces were a preparation, and in which they culminated. (I refer to the volume, *The Lost Son and Other Poems*, finally published in 1948. I was astonished in being reminded by the letters that the greenhouse poems had been rejected by both John Crowe Ransom and the editor of *Poetry*.)

Roethke went on to other breakthroughs, sometimes with similar discomforting aftermaths, and many of his loveliest pieces were still to be written. In going through these letters, the reader will get many glimpses of him along his way, snatching somewhat haphazardly at things even while, underneath it all, he kept striving in the direction demanded by his personality. And though we find him repeatedly expressing the hope for a different kind of breakthrough (into drama), his real genius was essentially lyrical, even though his poems were always strikingly "dramatic" in the sense that a good lyric can be dramatic when properly read aloud.

But whereas the reader will find, scattered through these letters, many hints as to Roethke's craft (and even craftiness) as a poet, the main impression that the book makes will probably be of a different sort. His imaginative, idealistic strivings in the poetic dimension find a materialistic counterpart in the most frankly careerist correspondence conceivable. In the Thirties Roethke did some work as a publicity man and he never lost his flair for that aspect of the writer's trade. Yet his self-promotion is so frank and spontaneous, it has a certain winsomeness. He does plenty of boasting but few will accuse him of being pretentious. Since he looks upon many of his important contemporaries as simultaneously his friends and his competitors, he is frank to air his hopes that he has just outdistanced someone towards whom we elsewhere see him taking a most sympathetic attitude. An abrupt sally of this sort is typical: "It saddens me that Mr. Eliot seems to think me a thug. He's right, of course, but I am convinced I can write rings around some of those punks on his list."

The spontaneity of his epistolary scrawls was doubtless increased by both alcohol and the various medicines he took constantly for one or another of his many symptoms, both bodily and mental. (Though quite without authority for saying so, I would attribute his sudden death to the fact that, whenever things went wrong with him, his natural tendency was not to modify his ways, but to keep right on in the same groove, plus pills of one sort or another. Thus, at one point he mentions a great drop in blood-pressure brought about by such means.)

If his letters to me are any test, some of his most entertaining moments (in epithets he applies to one or another of his colleagues) are omitted. I assume that I am similarly spared in some blanks that precede or follow my name. Whatever kind of favorable or unfavorable treatment a given subject gets at one point, the likelihood is that he'll get the opposite somewhere else, when the circumstances have changed. Here's some advice he gives me for writing to an editor:

"Tell him that some of the zeitgeist, ear-to-the-ground boys in England like John Lehmann think I'm the only bard at present operat-

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ing in the U.S. of A., that everybody is tired of Tiresome Tom, the Cautious Cardinal, and wants to hear about the new jump-boy, the master of diddle-we-care-couldly. They have to be told, the god-damned sheep. Boom-boom, you gotta believe. (I don't mean Palmer but the public.)"

Eliot's stock fluctuated more than any of the others' – and Roethke finally decided: "It's the old love-hate business. He can't stand anyone who will duel with God." Elsewhere he had said that "Eliot is not honest," and had "never acknowledged" his debt to Whitman. "Oh no, he's always chi-chi as hell: only Dante, the French, the Jacobeans, etc." At one stage he grumbled about the agrarians, but later shifted his attitude completely, having been particularly impressed by Allen Tate's reputation in Italy. He complains that one of Dylan Thomas' binges "cost me a pretty penny – even a 30 buck traffic ticket." And his next remarks are beautifully characteristic:

> "I'm fond of him, but he does get a bit wearing when dames are around. But as one of the dames pointed out to me, 'Dylan, you have to remember, is a child. . . .' From the lofty heights of adolescence, I make these observations."

Among the omissions, there is a reference to a speech by Edward Teller, "who 'fathered' the hydrogen bomb." The lacunae occur both before and after the name. And from his letters to me there are omissions concerning the role of the now deceased William Yandell Elliott (in connection with a 1950 Harvard Summer School Conference on The Defense of Poetry), and concerning some unsavory problems to do with academic freedom at the University of Washington while Henry Schmitz was president. The editor was more squeamish as regards these matters than I, for one, wish he had been, particularly since such omissions obscure somewhat the unconscious self-portrait that Roethke's letters so appealingly present. For although, every once in a while (when applying for a job or a grant or some such) Roethke settled down with almost Prussian thoroughness to line things up, his interest in self-portraiture as such got its ideal expression in his poems. Indeed, shifting back to the happier subject of his "slobbering egomania and four I's in one sentence," I would cite this amusing twist after his marriage: "I (we – how hard the plural comes!) were . . ." etc. Yet what of this man who says so disengagingly, "deep in my heart of hearts, where there is nothing but wormy ambition"? I'd like to end by quoting a plug I once wrote for him (and I meant every word of it):

> "During the several years when Roethke taught in the English department at Bennington, I got to know him quite well personally and to see him in operation as a teacher. On the basis of this knowledge, I would say most emphatically: He loves his subject, is permeated with it, and can communicate his enthusiasm to his students. His frank, open manner makes him popular with his classes; and he continually hits on felicitously picturesque ways of getting his insights across. Among people concerned with the best in contemporary poetry, he is generally considered a poet of exceptional ability. And as for my own attitude towards his work, I contributed to *The Sewanee Review* (Winter 1950) a forty-page appreciative analysis of his poems published up to that time, poems which, like his work done since then, have a kind of stylistic purity that is profoundly exhilarating. Were he given an opportunity to go farther afield in his studies, I am confident he has the kind of aptitude that would instinctively avoid the mere inclusion of chunks of undigested knowledge. What he took, he would assimilate, in terms of his unusual poetic integrity. And his pedagogy, good as it already is, should be to that extent improved."

Cabin

The steps take time unwinding from
too much raindrops make damp patches
on the long climb up up the road that
once stood as a partner to the trees
lining the cabin that remains.

The gathering of friends removes the
silence the clouds explode everyone
inside but where how do we get in this
place the doors are locked the windows
are barred the steps have dissolved.

The patches of walking space grow fat
from too much love the friends sway
back and forth the men dive the women
cling the woods are falling away away
the countryside is so afraid.

Natalie S. Robins

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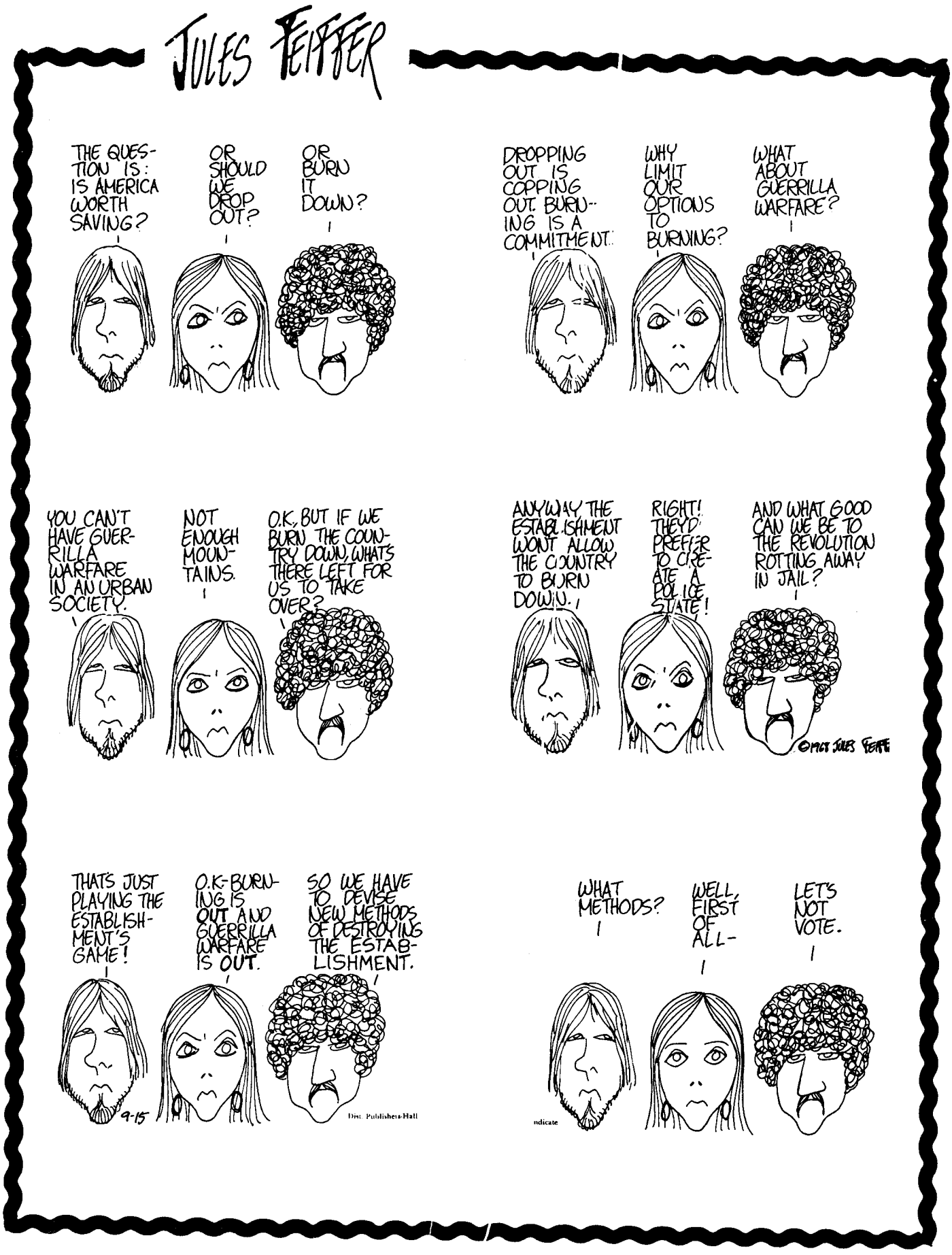
JULES FEIFFER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OR SHOULD WE DROP OUT?
OR BURN IT DOWN?
DROPPING OUT IS COPPING OUT. BURNING IS A COMMITMENT.
WHY LIMIT OUR OPTIONS TO BURNING?
WHAT ABOUT GUERRILLA WARFARE?
YOU CAN'T HAVE GUERRILLA WARFARE IN AN URBAN SOCIETY.
NOT ENOUGH MOUNTAINS.
O.K., BUT IF WE BURN THE COUNTRY DOWN, WHAT'S THERE LEFT FOR US TO TAKE OVER?
ANYWAY, THE ESTABLISHMENT WON'T ALLOW THE COUNTRY TO BURN DOWN.
RIGHT! THEY'D PREFER TO CREATE A POLICE STATE!
AND WHAT GOOD CAN WE BE TO THE REVOLUTION ROTTING AWAY IN JAIL?
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THAT'S JUST PLAYING THE ESTABLISHMENT'S GAME!
O.K.-BURNING IS OUT AND GUERRILLA WARFARE IS OUT.
SO WE HAVE TO DEVISE NEW METHODS OF DESTROYING THE ESTABLISHMENT.
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WELL, FIRST OF ALL-
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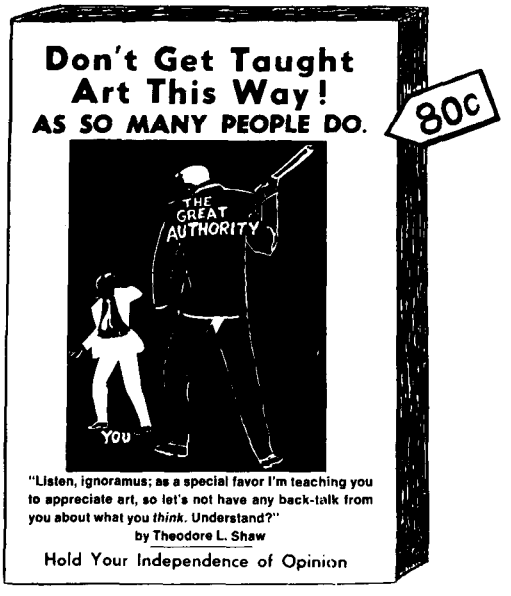
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AS SO MANY PEOPLE DO.
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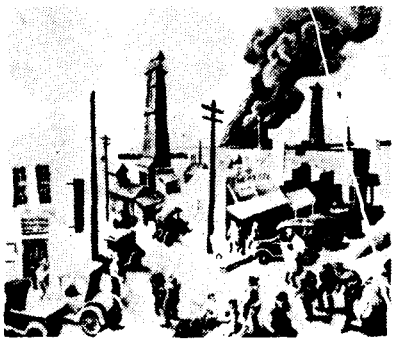
YOU
"Listen, ignoramus; as a special favor I'm teaching you to appreciate art, so let's not have any back-talk from you about what you *think*. Understand?"
by Theodore L. Shaw
Hold Your Independence of Opinion



Boom Town, Benton

Conjecturism

is the modern approach to art

It differs from tradition in that it remains within rationality. Rather than pretend that fatigue is miraculously absent in Art, in order to make possible the delivery of eternal verdicts of good and bad, it accepts fatigue, and reveals the very different and yet more rewarding consequences of doing so.

No particular art works are necessarily more "beautiful" than others. The sole difference between them, so far as inherent qualities are concerned, is in their varying speeds of tiring.

After having made a CONJECTURE as to the tiring speed of a book, painting, or symphony, — as determined by its complexity and the number and variety of elements which can be observed in them, — then *everything else depends on what may be termed* EARTH-ACCIDENT, that is, by what chances to happen.

For an illustration of the process, consider the LOADED DICE.

If you load a pair of dice so as to favor the throw of double fives, you impart a probability, but no matter how strong the loading, this throw is not inevitable if EARTH-ACCIDENT (such as the obstacles encountered by the dice after the throw) counteracts the probability.

Correspondingly, no matter how high or low an art work's tiring speed may be, its beauty-probability may be offset by changing its difficulty-of-doing, and thereby causing it to be more frequently observed by mankind, and so on.

Do You Fully Realize How Stupid The Art Critic Thinks You Are?

Perhaps these two comments, both by a Great Authority and Art Institution, will give you an idea:

No. 1 — "It is as simple as this: Renoir is a great painter because he had a joyous adoration of life and the ability to translate it into visual terms."

Do you swallow this meekly as the Critic thinks you are stupid enough to do, or do you respond, as you should by saying "Listen, Mr. G.A., to call an artist great because of his 'joyous adoration' is as silly as to call him great because he can jump over a fence. It is the difficulty of doing that counts and not the quality itself, or else other painters, eager to become as famous as Renoir, would soon be drowning us in the quality, and thus tiring us of it. In Art, if you can do something difficult to do, it usually doesn't matter whether you do it in "joyous adoration", in "unjoyous hate", in "balanced harmony", or "unbalanced disharmony", and so on for any allegedly good qualities. Plenty of masterpieces have been created by going contrary to tradition. Furthermore, what's difficult today may be easy tomorrow, and thereby cease being 'great'. So please stop delivering verdicts like these as though they were final."

No. 2 (Boom Town by Benton) "The artificiality of his style seems out of key with the folksiness of his subjects, leaving us with the feeling that although he wanted to get to the heart of his material, he managed only to observe it from the outside and record it inappropriately."

This is so obviously a whimsy, dreamed up in a hurry, (in a flossily portentous language) that it is hard to imagine even a most confirmed Great Authority enunciating it except on the assumption that you are too abjectly subjugated to critical rant for independent thought.

Nevertheless, neither of these two allegations are unusual. Similar ones permeate Art Criticism as now conducted.

However, the purpose of this book is not merely to reveal how pernicious a quackery Art Criticism has become — although that in itself is a worthy (and long missing) accomplishment. It will enable you to participate in Art as a thinking man instead of just being "told". It attempts no "eternal verdicts" because they are as humanly impossible as attempts to say which Christmases in the twenty-first century will be "white". It shows you how to CONJECTURE the art work's basic elements, how to estimate the *difficulty of doing* involved in them, how "world-accident" is likely to change the difficulty, and thus change the art work's beauty-probability.

Whether or not you care to bother about these fine distinctions is for you to decide, but if you do not you will be the art critic's easy mark for life. It is a whole new art education in itself.

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Laying Fuses Under Rome

by Arthur Cohen

It is obvious to anyone concerned with the faith of Christians that without the doctrine of the resurrection of Jesus Christ the whole of the theology of Paul the Apostle collapses and with it the elaborate structure of Christian belief – both Catholic and Protestant. Why Hugh Schonfield finds it important at this time to address himself to the demolition of Christian origins is

Those Incredible Christians
by Hugh J. Schonfield
(Bernard Geis; $5.95)

beyond me, but more of that in what follows. In any case, success is procreative and triumph in the marketplace inspirits the victor to press on. And so with *The Passover Plot* out of the way and a high-minded and noble Jewish messianist convicted of having contrived the semblance of his resurrection, Dr. Schonfield goes on to lay fuses under Rome and blast the rock upon which Peter (with the aid of Paul) built Christianity.

Schonfield's essential thesis in *Those Incredible Christians* – carried off like all tracts with breezy nomenclatures, up-to-date turns of phrases, colloquialisms, and an abundance of solid and secondary sources, hypotheses and conjectures – is that Jesus, despite having done himself in, never intended that Paul should pick up on his simple messianic vision and make of it a new religion, a Church in contravention of Jewish requirements and presuppositions. Paul is the knave, a cantankerous, sneaky, neurotic, religious genius, whose hectoring letters to the young churches became the platform upon which the ever more devious and powerful Roman Church effected its disengagement from the seditiousness of the rebelling Jews, removed itself from the power struggle of the dying Empire, and left itself free to pick up the pieces at the right time. The Roman Church manipulated to make both Peter and Paul co-founders and "buddies" (as Schonfield fetchingly calls them) whereas in fact – and he is right – they were opponents, the former committed to Jesus, Messiah of the Jews and the other to Jesus, Messiah for the Gentiles. Those canny Romans, forging texts (no doubt), appending, elaborating, padding others (no doubt), managed to seam together a quasi-Marcionite teaching which cut Jesus and his Church off irrevocably from the Jews, the Synagogue, and the redemptive teaching of the prophets of Israel.

The problem is that I tend to agree with Schonfield on points of history (that is to say, not being a Christian, I find Christendom a monstrous consortium of the demonic and the sacred and I dislike Paul with even greater passion than Schonfield, although respecting him more) – while nonetheless regarding *Those Incredible Christians* as popular vulgarization, history layed on like a late Max Reinhardt panoramic spectacular. The real point and the only point – the relation of the Jesus of history to the Christ of faith – is totally missed.

There is little we can do about the errors of the past except profit from their instruction or else, as some bright didact observed, be cursed to repeat them. From the point of view of Israel (here signifying the collectivity of the Jewish People) Christianity is a sore and a boil. No need to elaborate this unfriendly judgment. From the point of view of the Church which emerged from the machinations of the young church of Rome by the end of the Second Century A.D., the Synagogue was the shrivelled stock to which a new branch might still be charitably grafted. No love was lost and no love remained lost between these spiritual contenders down to the present day. It's a miserable contest of saints and who doesn't know it? What then is the point of Dr. Schonfield's compendium of familiar research: should Judaism missionize the Gentile Christians, *Those Incredible Christians* in hand like Savonarola's burning faggot, or should Christian Churches confess the confusion and duplicity of their ori-

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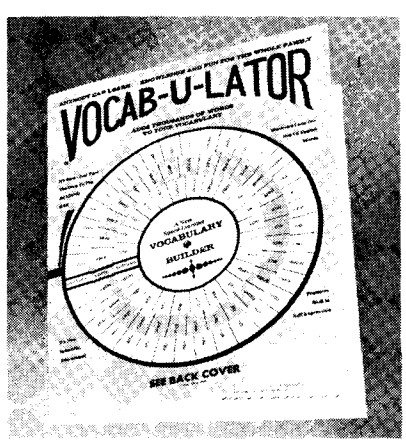

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gins and abjure them on behalf of the Synagogue? Even to think this way (and perhaps even now Dr. Schonfield contemplates the completion of his trilogy with "The Good News of the Synagogue") is utterly to confuse the history of religion with the morphology of ideas.

Aristotle observed that some things which are prior in the order of nature are posterior in the order of knowledge, while others, however much they may be prior in knowledge will not emerge until later in the order of nature. There is a discrepancy between what history begets and what reason, with or without faith, demands. Whether or not Schonfield is right in his interpretations of the early Church, the fact remains that from the Church Fathers to Dostoevsky, the conviction that Jesus *was* the Christ was more important than whether the Jesus of history ever lived. Pascal's wager was not dependent upon the authenticity of a version of the Synoptic Gospels, since it was a declaration of stance before a universe which he believed had been redeemed.

This *plaidoyer* for Christian faith – no less than the apologia for Judaism I might propose – is founded upon the conviction that the theological center of Christian belief is independent of history. The knowledge of history helps to winnow doctrine, to synchronize human time with the time of faith, but Schonfield's book will not undermine Christians not already unbelievers nor damage the faith of believing ones. He has written not a bad book, but an irrelevant one.

The Aftermath of Renaissance Science

by Richard Ohmann

Something queer began happening in and to our culture a few hundred years ago: let's take the arts as symptomatic. Artists slowly detached themselves from neatly circumscribed social roles, and set off on a separatist adventure. We can trace a line of sorts from Dante, who for all the political chaos around him drew together myth and theology in a unified and socially affirmative vision, to the more thorny and revisionist Milton, to Byron, who, through satire and satanic myth, positioned himself far from the center of received culture. A similar line might run from an anonymous medieval stone worker to Michaelangelo to Gauguin, or from Palestrina to Mozart to Wagner. As the artist moved from in to out, he became conscious of himself as different – as an ascetic, or rebellious, or heroic, or tragic figure, one who worked beyond the margin of common experience. A corollary: he must make his own discoveries and create his own style. The word "genius" came into use in its present sense, to stand for the capacity to achieve insight on one's own, rather than accumulate traditional wisdom. And someone noticed that we were having Culture.

Literature and Technology: The Alien Vision
by Wylie Sypher
(Random House; $5.95)

At the same time, natural science was undertaking a similar venture, though a more corporate one. The idea of conquest has informed science from the Renaissance to the present day. But the expectations of both science and art were in some ways too sanguine. The physical world is odder than scientists thought, and the heroic quest of art has pushed on into a terrain that nourishes irony, self-denial, and despair.

To rehearse these platitudes is not to solve a problem, nor even really to pose one, but to circumscribe an area of puzzlement, of less than adequate historical understanding. Just what has happened to the function of the arts, and why? Has it anything to do with the evolution of science? Do art and science constitute two cultures, one, or none?

Professor Wylie Sypher, who has devoted three books – the best known is *Four Stages of Renaissance Style* – to strands of this tangle, now plunges in-

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to the center. *Literature and Technology* seizes on the *placement* of the artist or scientist, vis-à-vis his work and the natural world, as crucial to the wayward development of our culture. In Sypher's view, both artist and scientist have been afflicted since the Renaissance, and most gravely in the 19th century, by the arrogance of thinking they could detach themselves from the phenomena they dealt in. Seeking to dominate the world by distancing it, they succeeded rather in cruelly separating themselves from sources of love and renewal, and in creating what Sypher calls "the alien vision." His allies in this essay – calling it a "study" would imply the detachment Sypher condemns – are Gombrich, Lukacs, Barthes, Robbe-Grillet, Bronowski, and Herbert Read, among others, and the lineage of his critique goes back to Marx, Nietzsche, and above all Ruskin.

The book is learned, ambitious, and complex. One must simplify with caution, but it is probably fair to characterize Sypher's argument by its polarities: on the one side, technology; on the other, participation. What does "technology" mean? In science, brute empiricism, a distancing through the tactic of posing as a neutral observer, and the supposition that the physical world is simply out there with fixed and consistent laws that can be cleanly grasped. Above all, technological science is reliance on *method,* which diminishes the role of the person, estranges him from what he studies, and blocks his sense of playful involvement. After Ehrenzweig, Sypher holds that:

> "With the coming of Renaissance science, man began to evade himself by displacing these compulsions [to feel responsible for his condition] into the world outside, where there no longer seemed to be moral or spiritual laws but laws of a necessity inherent in nature. That is, he objectified his own imperatives in the illusions he called science."

Under this aspect, every science is a dismal science.

Technological art is equally characterized by an obsession with method, as in the programmatic realism of Flaubert, the naturalism of Zola, or

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the dozens of movement orthodoxies around the end of the last century and the beginning of this one:

> "Often it was a method that enforced a fiction of authorial silence – the cancellation of the writer from his own text in the interest of Art, a cancellation as impossible to attain in art as it was in science. . . . In accepting this fiction, realists, naturalists, and symbolists made literature a technical feat."

As the artist canceled himself, he made mimesis the goal of technique and set vision above and apart from the other senses. He created a world of objects and geometry and forces. The achievement of constant perspective in painting, the development of impersonal narration in fiction, and the various formalisms of high art all meant fastidious attention to the materials:

> "The exploitation of a medium for its own sake might be called the technical alienation of art, since craft, or the command of a métier, is a way of making something; but the methodologist seems more concerned with the expertise of his technique than with what is brought into being – which is a way of estranging art from its end."

In exalting technique, the artist detaches style from self, and binds himself to an austere economy of means. Sypher fits this melancholy description in one way or another to Mallarmé, Joyce, Flaubert, Eliot, and a host of decadents, symbolists, Parnassians, and other Movement people. On the other side are Keats, Dickens, Stevens, Wordsworth, and George Eliot, among many others. These last are the world-lovers, the pragmatists for whom art is a dialogue with things and a playful exercise of the whole self in action, whose end is not foreordained by method or program. So "participation" means both reaching out toward things, to annex them to the ego itself, and conceiving art as active experience ("existential craft") rather than engineering. The artist turns from a search for depths of meaning to the surface of things. (In much the same way, Sypher sees the new scientist as "less concerned with universal laws than with studying the way things are in all their contingency.") In this kind of art, if it is in the ascendancy, Sypher finds our best defense against human engineering and a technological social order.

Sypher's is one of those grand taxonomies that expands the mind even while stirring doubt at roughly every other point. For instance I find many of his parallels between art and science unsatisfactory. Method is not the same thing in the two enterprises: that of the radical empiricist in the laboratory means following the approved procedures wherever they lead, while the *methodism of, say, a symbolist poet is* an attempt to achieve a particular kind of *result*. And to suggest that the romantic poet's high estimate of immediate experience is an empiricism allied to that of science is, I think, to play with words. Again, it is true that many artists now embrace, or at least tolerate, fragmentation and inconsistency, but I doubt that even the kind of scientist Sypher has in mind – such as Polanyi, Heisenberg, and Gödel – has given up on universal laws. Rather, each upending of a supposed universal law is an attempt to find a law with greater generality, and if some of the new laws incorporate the observer or take uncertainty into account they are no less universal for that. Yet the main concept of Sypher's argument – that of distancing and alienation – has both explanatory power and resonance. His taxonomy is productive, not inert.

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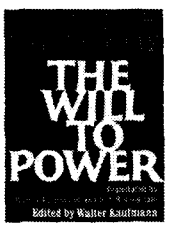

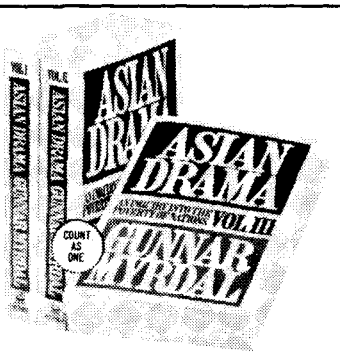

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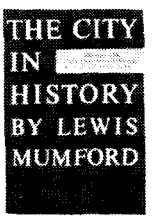

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In order to strike more deeply at *Literature and Technology* one would have to fault it for not doing what it does not attempt to do. Sypher's angle of vision is that of the artist, capital A; he barely speaks of audiences or of mass culture – this in spite of his strictures on "official" art and our idolatry of it. The territory he scans looks different (and stranger) if one *also* asks: What's the relation between technology and participation in, e.g., the television commercial and popular music? How do the unofficial arts work with their audiences? And how does their presence in our midst affect the audience for literature and high culture generally? The changes in marginal art since the Renaissance, many of them wrought by technology, are both more radical and more culturally penetrating than the changes in high art. A theory that looks to art for serious resistance to the oncoming technological order probably should reach beyond high art and elite culture.

What's Left?

by Michael Harrington

In Warsaw in the fall of 1963 I asked an intellectual why Gomulka allowed Leszek Kolakowski to retain his communist membership. "Because," I was told, "he does not want to drive the only Marxist in Poland out of the Party." Since then, Gomulka has expelled Kolakowski from the Party for the subversive action of defending the movement of October, 1956, which brought Gomulka back to power. But aside from that outrageous denoument, the wry joke of 1963 got to a basic truth: that the ablest inheritors of the Marxian tradition tend to be isolated individuals rather than mass leaders.

Toward a Marxist Humanism, Essays on the Left Today
by Leszek Kolakowski
(Grove Press; $5.50)

Marx and Engels had a continuing relationship with the rank and file movements of their day. They persuaded the European Left to accept the modernization and centralization of capitalism as a starting point rather than to yearn for older, simpler, forms of social life in the manner of Bakunin and Proudhon. The eventual victory of their point of view provided the theoretical basis for the actual growth of both trade unionism and socialist political action. The pre-World War I heyday of the social democracy which they inspired, knew the most remarkable association of serious intellectuals and working politicians in history.

In that period of classic Marxism, the *Neue Zeit* under Kautsky was probably the most serious journal ever published by a mass movement, and the *Arbeiter Zeitung* of Vienna the most serious newspaper. Kautsky, Bernstein, Hilderding, the Austro-Marxists, Rosa Luxemburg, Plekhanov, Trotsky and Lenin discussed questions of philosophy and aesthetics as well as matters of tactics. And even though Marxism was, as the socialist failure to act in 1914 showed, the Sorelian myth of the proletariat as much as its consciousness, it did somehow articulate the deepest desires of millions.

But then Stalin physically annihilated the Russian Marxist movement and turned Marx's revolutionary critique of all established orders into the ideology of a totalitarian state. He also succeeded in turning some of the best of the Western radicals into vulgar cathechists and apologists for murder. Then, with the extraordinary revival of capitalism after World War II, the social democrats began to abandon even the rhetoric of May Day. And so it was that history, to borrow the master's phrase, stood Marxism on its head. Marx became a Marxist in 1844 in the course of a struggle against Bruno Bauer and the Left Hegelians who considered their socialism too lofty an ideal to be shared with the common people (Marx was also outraged, because Bauer and company refused to work with bourgeois liberals and thus, for all their ultra-leftism, objectively aided Prussian reaction). A

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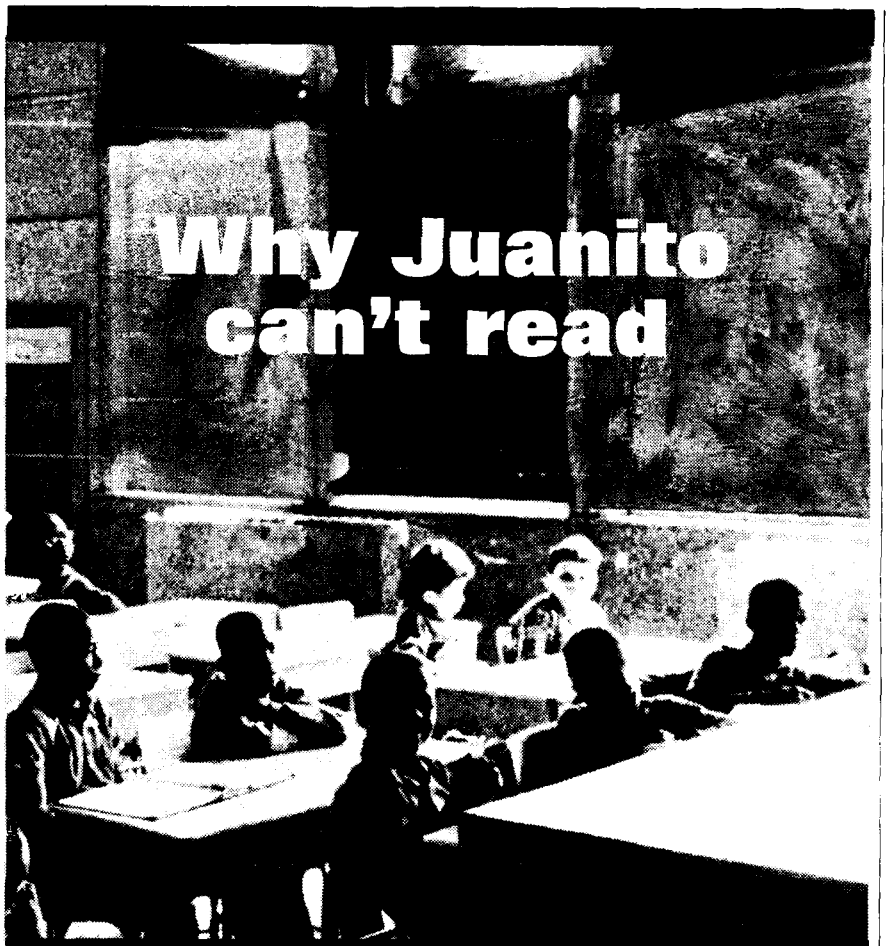
century later, many of the most serious Marxist thinkers are, like those True Socialists whom Marx rejected, outside the mass movements.

But then, this isolation of Marxist thought is more characteristic of the capitalist than of the communist world. When one tries to think of substantial Marxist theoretical contributions on this side of the Iron Curtain, one names individual scholars like Arnold Hauser, George Lichtheim, Isaac Deutscher (as biographer, not as anti-Stalinist rationalizer of Stalinism) rather than political leaders. Indeed the French Catholics and the Marxism Commission of the Evangelical Church in West Germany would have to be put in the front rank of Marxologists.

But in Eastern Europe – and perhaps in the Soviet Union itself – the position of Marxists is not quite so un-Marxist. For since Stalin couched his totalitarianism in Marx's libertarian vocabulary, his society was, and is, threatened by the danger that its impressionable youth might take the manifest content of the official doctrine seriously. This has happened, of course, in America where Jeffersonians, Jacksonians, abolitionists, trade unionists, blacks and students have at various times insisted on actually living the national myths. But in the Soviet Union the contradiction of word and deed is potentially even more dynamic than here, for there a bureaucratic class which owns a one party state proclaims the values of revolution, classlessness and democracy. So it was that Milovan Djilas made his scathing, Marxist critique of communism (though it should be noted that an American, Max Shachtman, worked out a Marxist theory of the "new class" at an earlier date and, to my mind, in greater depth). In Poland in 1956, Kolakowski and *Po Prostu* spoke truth to a brief moment of power; in Budapest, there was the Petofi Circle; in East Berlin, Wolfgang Hairich was imprisoned for talking, among other things, about a founder of the German Communist Party, Rosa Luxemburg; and Ernest Bloch, the author of a fascinating study of the "principle of hope," went to West Germany.

Today the ferment continues and the Russians are terrified by the specter of Marxism which haunts the communist



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regimes of Eastern Europe. And indeed, in Sakharov's remarkable document, there is specific reference to discussions of the "new class" theory of communist society which, the scientist concedes, contain considerable truth.

Put in this historical context, Kolakowski is less the isolated thinker, more the spokesman of a profound yearning for freedom which exists throughout the European communist world. The essays in *Toward a Marxist Humanism* are undated, but it is clear that they come from the period between the Polish October of 1956 and the effective suppression of most, if not all, of its conquests in the 1960s. He writes in everyday language, though he is plainly at home in the rigorous tradition of Polish logic. His main polemical targets are the institutionalizers of Marxism and one of his major and most persuasive points is the assertion of ethical responsibility *within* a Marxist framework.

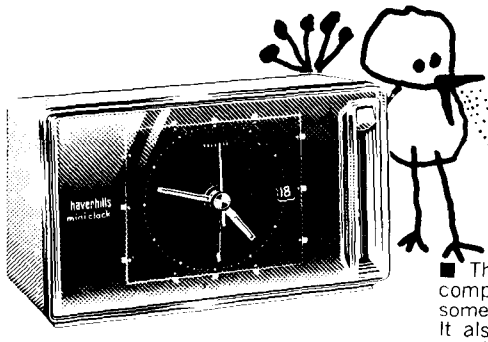
At every moment, Kolakowski attempts to understand, and not simply yell at, his adversaries. He even holds that "Stalinism created a socially vital concept of Marxism that was an institutional and not an intellectual phenomenon. . . . There was only one element of mystification in it: the name of Karl Marx from which the term originally derived." And he is quite severe with those who would counter Stalinist theories by the simple avowal of ultimate, non-historical values. Since the tendency of determinism to substitute itself for ethics is rampant in the modern world, and not just an aspect of Stalin's Russia, these insights are extremely relevant today.

Here is one of Kolakowski's summaries of the official position: " 'On the one hand', economic progress in class societies is effected at the expense of the exploited classes; still, it is progress, therefore the Weltgeist is on its side. 'On the other hand', those exploited classes are right in their opposition; and so the alter ego of the Weltgeist takes sides with them. A contradiction? But every contradiction in the doctrine is its triumph, for the world is based on contradictions. When the Weltgeist rebels against itself, the doctrinaire hoists his flag over its tattered soul; the rebellion only confirms his reason for being. The doctrinaire boasts of the consistency of his system, but whenever necessary, he also prides himself on its internal contradictions."

This analysis, Kolakowski argues, is based on a confusion. It is possible that certain human behaviour is both immoral and historically progressive. Marx regarded the individual and specific actions of the British in India as crimes *and* as the unconscious tools of history in revolutionizing that land. He did not, therefore, praise or support British imperialism and he sided with those who fought it both in England and in the colony. But then, the issue becomes even clearer when Kolakowski examines it from the point of view of actual men and women. "If it is true that one has to explain the behaviour of individuals by historical processes and not vice versa, the fact remains that he who has assimilated this truth continues to be merely an individual who must make basic choices. . . ." But at this point, consciousness of the generality that history shapes moral values is only really helpful on the basis of the "mad illusion," "that we have an infallible and ultimate knowledge of the laws of historical development. . . ."

So it is necessary to liberate man "from that pseudo-dialectic which makes morality a tool of history and then makes history a pretext for villainy. . . ." And to do that requires awareness of a moral sense: "We are not communists because we recognized communism to be a historical necessity. We are communists because we stand on the side of the oppressed against the oppressors. . . ."

But what, then, is specifically "Marxist" about the formation of such a conscience? In part, Kolakowski would rightly answer, nothing. One basic division, he holds, is of Right and Left in the humanities and at times this is much more important than the line between the orthodox Marxists and everyone else. The Left is open-minded, secular, tolerant, innovative, and believes "above all . . . in the cognitive values of science and the



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possibilitity of social progress." Since these attitudes are to be found in liberalism, Kolakowski is thus giving up some of the Marxian pretensions to constituting a comprehensive, and distinct, world-view (to being, in Lukacs' terms, a philosophy of "totality"). There were historical reasons why Marxism made that claim: its origins in a Hegelianism which sought to explain all phenomena; the need of the early social democrats to develop a counter-religion as a defense against the clericalists, and a counter-society within a bourgeois order which would not admit workers into the realms of culture and thought, and so on. It was not for nothing that Kautsky was called the "Pope" of pre-World War I Marxism; and Stalin's monolithic definition of the Party could carry some of the older, social democratic traditions to a totalitarian extreme.

So, in the name of Marxism, the belief that Marx provided a universal key to human knowledge must be abandoned (actually, it was Engels, the likeable enthusiast who provided most of the canonical justifications for this view, but that is another story). But once this is done, there still remains the enduring worth of one of the most titanic intellects in history. For Marx, Kolakowski asserts, opened man's eyes to look at human affairs through the prism of history, to understand the struggle whereby society fights against, and humanizes, nature, to locate social myths in the alienation from which they spring, and so on. And that program in Eastern Europe might eventually prove stronger than the tanks in Czechoslovakia.

But finally, Kolakowski's Marxist vision enables him to see society from the bottom up. The Sakharov plea for a convergence of democratic socialism in Russia and America was, and is, an enormously hopeful sign. Yet for all of his courage and insight, Sakharov still argued in effect that the managers of capitalism and communism should intelligently act upon their common interest. Whereas in Kolakowski's essays, one feels that identification "on the side of the oppressed against the oppressors" is the living heritage of Karl Marx in Prague, in Moscow, and, I hope, even in the United States of America.

June '68

by Andrei Voznesensky

Wild swans, wild swans, wild swans,
Northward, northward bound.
Kennedy . . . Kennedy . . . the heart
Breaks at the sound.

Of foreign politics
Not much may be understood;
But I do understand
A white cheek bathed with blood.

The idol of TV screens
In his funereal auto rides . . .
With bullets, bullets, bullets
Madmen proselytize.

When absently he shook
That head while yet intact
I thought of Yesenin
With his tumbling forelock:

As on that poet's brow
A sickle-moon would brood –
For public effect, they thought,
But it proved to be for blood.

How defenseless the challenger,
Politician or poet,
When he topples to gunshot
Right through the TV set!

Oh, the roots of apple trees
Torn from orchard soil,
Mourn high on her balcony
There on the thirtieth floor!

Apple trees, apple trees . . .
Curse those bloody trees!

Let skyscraper-apples grieve,
Good but to guard a grave.

Note: Voznesensky refers to apple trees that he remembers having seen on the balcony of Mrs. John F. Kennedy's Fifth Avenue apartment, which is on the fifteenth rather than on the thirtieth floor; Sergei Yesenin, famous Soviet lyric poet, committed suicide in 1925 at the age of thirty. This translation is by William Jay Smith and Nicholas Fersen.

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McNamara Himself

by John Osborne

Here we return with Robert Strange McNamara to the seven years, to that time so recently ended and already so far in the past, when he was our eighth and, beyond question, our most effective Secretary of Defense. His preface is dated February 29, 1968, his last day at the Pentagon. He warns us to expect no more than he offers: the gist of "the principles and philosophy by which I have directed the activities of the Defense Establishment" as set forth at the time in "my actual policy statements, edited and adapted for clarity and logical sequence by Mr. Henry Trewhitt, a distinguished writer on international affairs." I do not know, though perhaps I should, how distinguished Mr. Trewhitt is. After reading *The Essence of Security* and comparing parts of it with the original sources, I do know that he is a good editor. Deftly, without distortion and with only one material omission that I have spotted, he has derived from seven of Mr. McNamara's speeches from the last of his annual "posture statements" to Congress, and from other similar documents a book that is far superior to the usual collection of a public man's public utterances.

The Essence of Security
Robert S. McNamara
(Harper & Row; $4.95)

The material omission is interesting. It must have been deliberate. Nowhere in this book is there an explicit and unqualified justification of the Vietnam war, with which Robert McNamara had so much to do and which he repeatedly tried to justify when he was Secretary. In his long farewell report to Congress, submitted last January, from which the book's first three chapters and parts of another chapter are taken, Secretary McNamara argued that in "Southeast Asia" (meaning Vietnam, a word he tends to avoid), "we are fighting for the right of nations to live in freedom and independence." Relating that assertion to a central proposition of the book and of United States foreign policy, he added that "It is from this right, as I have so often stated, that our own security derives, and it is precisely the objective of our collective defense policy in all parts of the world." In the same passage of the report, he denied that the Johnson Administration had recently "changed its rationale for our military involvement in Southeast Asia" with a shift of emphasis from the argument that we were defending the freedom of the South Vietnamese to the argument that we were primarily defending "our own security." The Administration had in fact "changed its rationale" in just that way, at least for propaganda purposes, and the denial did Secretary McNamara no honor. The paragraphs of the report immediately preceding and following the passage quoted here appear in the book with minor editing. The quoted passage does not. Neither do Secretary McNamara's several expressions of doubt from early 1966 onward that the steady escalation of our bombing of North Vietnam was worth the price in worldwide obloquy. He is as forthright in the book, however, as he was in the official originals in asserting our "vital strategic interest" in Southeast Asia. "I believe," he says in the book as he had said in the source documents, "that over the long run a truly independent, neutral Southeast Asia would best serve the interests of all the nations involved." He tells us in his preface that one of the guiding factors in his management of the defense establishment was "a firm commitment to the policy of collective security" and he leaves us to suppose that his view when he left the Secretaryship was still, as it had been throughout his tenure, that the Vietnam involvement was required and justified by that policy.

McNamara "edited and adapted" runs to certainties, just as Secretary McNamara in office did. The United States *will* continue to support NATO and fulfill the military commitment that it embodies, because circumstances including the power and purposes of the Soviet Union require that this be done. We *will* preserve our present nuclear superiority (at least three or four to one, measured in deliverable warheads) over the Soviet Union, because to do otherwise "would be to jeopardize our very viability as a nation." Mr. McNamara is similarly "convinced that we must and will judge unacceptable all the alternatives to a continued dedication to collective defense," with the worldwide involvements and responsibilities which the policy has entailed since it was developed under Presidents Truman and Eisenhower. Here, however, the certainty wavers. Mr. McNamara perceives, as anyone must, in the recent and annually deepening cuts in appropriations for military and economic aid to other nations, "a growing unwillingness to recognize that if the policy of collective defense is to work, we must be ready to pay our share of the price." He adds, "If this unwillingness is, in fact, on the increase, then I believe that our nation will be much better off if we confront the real issue directly. That issue is whether we should continue to base our national security on the policy of collective defense. There is nothing to be gained, and much to be lost, by paying lip service to the policy and then failing to support the programs necessary to carry it out."

With a feeling of injustice to the book and its author, I conclude this review by recommending *The Essence of Security* to anyone who wants to know how an extraordinarily able and – behind his shield of computerized certainties – an extraordinarily sensitive Secretary of Defense viewed the security policies and problems of the United States while he was dealing with them. He suggests with engaging confidence that he did pretty well in dealing both with them and with the defense establishment which he took firmly in hand in 1961. Those who cannot forgive Robert McNamara and his senior companions in the Johnson Administration for the horror of Vietnam will disagree. Forgiving him much, I find in this book persuasive argument and evidence that in his years at the Pentagon he served his country almost as well as he obviously thinks he did.

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Nixon?

Sirs:

The McCarthy - Kennedy - McGovern supporters had best vote for Nixon for President. First, they would gain an Administration with a greater potential for change on Vietnam. Nixon is less tied to present policy. The Republican concept of a weak President and their belief that they are the "Peace Party" makes Nixon slightly more promising for peace in Vietnam. Second, they would reduce the influence in the Democratic Party of Humphrey-types who would use excessive amounts of force to suppress dissent. Third, they would greatly enhance their chances for a take-over of the Democratic Party in 1972. Finally their Nixon vote would neutralize the Wallace votes, thus reducing his influence on Nixon. A vote for Humphrey is wasted as he is going to lose. A non-vote only enhances Wallace by increasing his effect, because his fixed number of voters will increase their percentage. In a conservative election year, the most effective use of a liberal's vote is to reduce the right-wing influence. This, sadly, can only be done by voting for Nixon.

Alfred S. Arkley
Haslett, Mich.

No New Options

Sirs:

You have been all too tragically correct in your assessments of this year's political situation. Events in Miami and Chicago certainly indicate that those who have been urging "new options" are profoundly right. The major political parties have left us on the one hand with a candidate who implicitly accepts white backlash as a political reality and hopes to ride into office on its coattails, and on the other with one who accepts with but little demurrer the savage brutalities of Mayor Daley's Blueshirts.

I have been voting since the general election of 1944 and until now have always been able to find an acceptable presidential choice in one of the two major parties. This year, however, I'm sure that I am but one of a great many people who are hoping somewhat wistfully for the opportunity to vote *for* someone – of, say, the stature of McCarthy, Lindsay, McGovern or Rockefeller – instead of *against* the worse of two distasteful alternatives. At worst I suppose one could write in some acceptable names as a protest to the moral bankruptcy of both Republicans and Democrats.

Robert W. Weidner
Charleston, Ill.

Calling All Witnesses

Sirs:

The Illinois Division of the American Civil Liberties Union is planning to take legal action because of the unlawful activities of the Chicago police during the week of the Democratic Party's national convention. To aid its research, statements from victims of or witnesses to acts of police misconduct are desired. Statements should cover place, time, who was involved, and what was seen, heard, smelt, or felt. Still photos or film of police misconduct are also needed. The ACLU will reimburse photographers for the cost of their prints.

Jay Miller, Executive Director
The Roger Baldwin Foundation of ACLU, Inc.
6 South Clark St.
Chicago, Ill. 60603

Medic! Medic!

Sirs:

Being a senior medical student, sympathetic to the anti-war movement, I participated in the Grant Park protest the night of August 28. I wore my whites plus a red cross band, expecting, foolishly, that this uniform would prevent any attack upon me.

I now hear it said that the police brutality charge was limited to a small percentage of policemen who may have overreacted, but had been provoked to an intolerable degree. Certainly, many

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officers were provoked, but readers of *The New Republic* might be interested in the types of people and the circumstances of the injuries I observed.

At approximately 7:00 p.m., a single line of officers challenged the crowd of about 10,000 with tear gas. Most individuals were treated with water drops in their eyes. An hour later, a column of police, about four across and 15 deep, marched in and viciously attacked the crowd. Granted some provocation, what followed was inexcusable. Front line demonstrators were clubbed and/or kneed, arrested and then beaten again. Often two or three officers beat on one individual. Many were tossed into paddy wagons severely injured and seemingly unconscious. Girls were not immune to the same type of treatment. Medical students, nurses, nursing students forged through the crowd to administer first aid. Several were clubbed upon approach; others were hit as they were kneeling over hemorrhaging victims. One should note here that all medical personnel were clothed in white plus red crosses on arm or back.

Soon thereafter, I found myself forced into a side street far from the camera's eye. The first clubbed victim I aided was a young male around 20 years old who had been on a date two blocks away from the protest. He now carries a two-inch scar on his forehead. The second victim was a Negro janitor who, having just got off work, was walking through an alley. He never made it to the street and now he too has a two-inch scar above his left eyebrow. The third was a bearded youth who had been caught setting a trash can afire. His skull is decorated with numerous gashes. Punishment to fit the crime?

Numerous individuals were kicked, pushed or trampled by the fleeing, horrified crowd. These injuries were generally minor. One girl about 16, who had been shoved too much decided to leave and cross the street. She was then kicked and pushed to the ground by an irate officer. This was two blocks away from the Conrad Hilton. Her leg was most likely fractured. Most of the victims I saw or treated were not the long-haired, bearded, so-called hippies but well-dressed and behaved individuals drenched in blood. One such person was pushed through a plate glass window.

Medical teams were formed and first aid stations set up. Some had been organized earlier by SHO (Student Health Organization) and MCHR (Medical Committee for Human Rights), organizations originally designed to provide medical care for the underprivileged. Ninety percent of these aides were Chicagoans or students attending Chicago schools, contrary to the mayor's statement to CBS that these hippies had brought their own doctors to town with them.

The team I joined was split up while dodging three-wheeler cycles racing at and through the crowd. Five on our team were cornered and gassed. Three were beaten; two escaped over a fence.

Around 11:00 p.m. and one pack of cigarettes later, I rejoined the crowd in front of the Hilton. One man, wearing a white laboratory coat, was a dentist from Gary, Indiana. He approached me and asked how he could help. He had seen the beatings on television and thought his training would be useful. Six of my fellow students came for the same reason, despite political views different from those present. They came too late. The National Guard had moved in now and had formed a line around the crowd. All was peaceful, an interesting change since the crowd and its ideas hadn't altered. Mayor Daley's street cleaners arrived shortly thereafter. Perhaps he feared the delegates would be sickened by the sight of blood. Incidentally, they were unable to clean the blood off the carpeting in the Hilton, nor to remove the smell of nausea gas.

Officers were also hurt, many assaulted with bricks, some sprayed with oven cleaner, some decorated with feces and, most severely, some embarrassed by derogatory remarks (I mention this only because Mayor Daley introduced his defense with a comment on how bad the language was). Some individuals may have been asking for a beating, but none deserved being beaten into unconsciousness.

On the following evening, the crowd as well as the police was considerably less agitated. Injuries in Grant Park were less frequent and usually accidental. Numerous delegates, some sympathetic, roamed through the crowd. Some of these individuals had aided victims the night before in the first aid station set up in the Hilton.

Three delegates from Texas, courageously walked along the perimeter of the crowd, martinis in hand. I suppose, being medical men, we were chosen to hear their viewpoint. Amidst all the confusion, police, Guard and barbed wire, we were told what a lovely city Chicago was and what a great time they were having. "If only this riff-raff hadn't drifted into town," said one. When challenged with the fact that most were clean, well-dressed individuals, many of whom were students, medical personnel and clergymen, one replied, "They don't have to smell bad or appear unkempt to be riff-raff." He took another drink and then bid us adieu.

Geoffrey Simmons
University of
Illinois Medical School
Chicago, Illinois

Kauffmann, *from page 26*

about having been unloved in their homes, as if they had earned neglect, as if they were undeserving of this place and its care; fear to love because of the fear of loss of the beloved; unbridled anger at the teeming mysteries of just one ordinary modern day's existence. Society has not (or not yet) given them the means to control their fears and to invent answers, as it has given to many adults and to the clergyman who presides over the cook's funeral.

Any film that is an impromptu record is likely to have roughnesses and omissions. For instance, it's clear that King was caught slightly short because the cook died early in the filming and he had only a little footage of her. (Understandably, he shifts her death to a point near the end of the film; strict chronology was not important, and the film would have run downhill if he had followed it.) Some of the sound could be clearer, some of the sequences fuller. A few of the chil-

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dren are left virtually unnoticed, like a pretty teen-age girl, flirtatiously dressed, who sits in the background chewing gum and reading magazines while other children are threshing about in counselors' arms.

But much more bothersome are two extrinsic facts. The first is that the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, having commissioned this film, refused to show it because it contains – often – the words "fuck" and "bullshit." I hope that at least *some* members of the CBC felt that this decision was a fucking disgrace. Would it have been impossible to show this utterly humane, basically ennobling film late at night – even if it meant cancelling for one evening some acid-in-the-face private-eye thriller with scrubbed language?

Second is the fact that Warrendale has now changed hands and methods, largely (I'm told) because of controversy over this film. I'm as incompetent to comment on the political questions as the therapeutic. I do know that, watching this film and knowing that at least some of the children have been moved and are being treated differently, I felt that something warm and organic and nourishing had been hurt.

Last year we saw a documentary called *Titicut Follies*, made in a Massachusetts institution for the criminally insane, a picture that no doubt originated in a genuine impulse to expose oppressive conditions but that, I thought, began to get some gawking kicks out of showing them. I mention that picture only to assure those who saw it – or who wouldn't see it – that *Warrendale* has not the slightest resemblance to it. It is not an exposé, it is not a chamber of horrors. It is a *union* with some children who become very precious to us before the 100 minutes are up. Partly this is because they are in themselves interesting and they are allowed – induced – to be *there;* partly it's because they seem to be us, under a distorting magnifying glass. Jean Renoir has called Allan King "a great artist" – not a bad compliment from a man who is a pretty fair artist himself. Inarguably, King has evoked those children's inner selves so powerfully on the screen that he has snared us up there, too.

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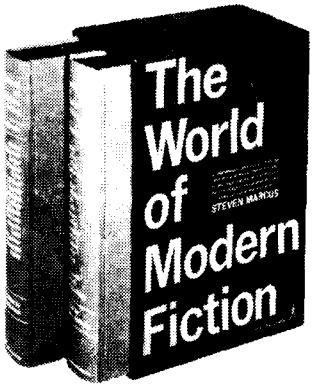

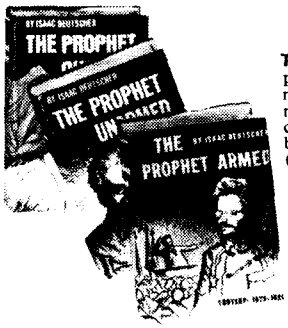

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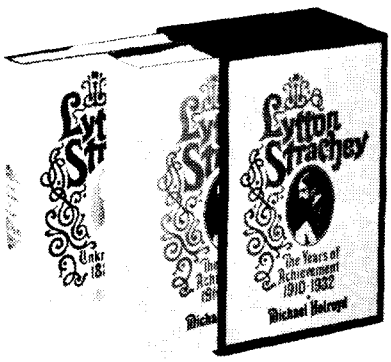

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